China monthly Review

密勒氏評論報

Reforming China's Colleges

An interview with Tsao Wei-feng

PHILIPPINE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

WHO IS THE ENEMY?

. . . A Short Story by Bai Ren

SUPPLEMENT

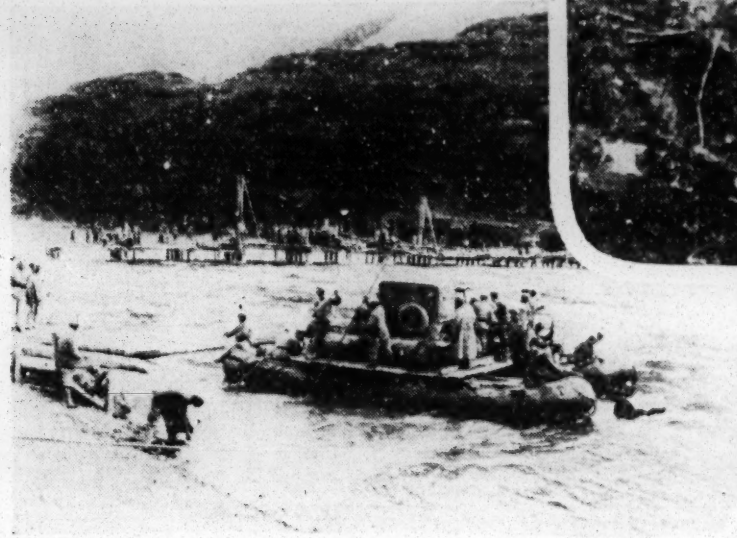
WU HSIU-CHUAN'S SPEECH at the UN SECURITY COUNCIL

JANUARY 1951 **JMP 6,500**

The PLA Marches into Tibet

After several months of negotiations aimed at solving the Tibetan problem peacefully, the PLA was ordered to march into this southwest border province. Despite American, British and Indian intrigues, the PLA has made rapid progress and liberation of the entire province is expected in the near future.

A PLA truck convoy negotiating a narrow mountain road



Rafts are used to ferry men and equipment while a bridge is being built.

Pack animals are also used

↑ *Musicians from a lamasary turn out to welcome advancing PLA units.*

→ *PLA troops engaging in Tibetan campaign maintain same living standard as local peoples. Tibetan food and tea are served this unit during rest period.*

LETTERS
From the People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of the *China Monthly Review*.

AIDING VOLUNTEERS

To the Editor:

In the midst of the movement to "Resist American Aggression and Protect Our Homes and Defend Our Fatherland," which has been sweeping the country, the students and staff members of our college have given their heartfelt support by concrete action.

Recently the entire school launched a drive whereby we made monetary contributions, prepared gifts and wrote letters of greetings to express our comradely love and solidarity with the Chinese volunteer forces in Korea, who together with the KPA, have delivered a steam-hammer blow to the US aggressors.

Up to December 8th the whole college, which includes less than 200 students and 50 staff members, contributed some 120 gift parcels in addition to writing over 200 letters of greeting.

A girl student by the name of Chou, who had lived in America for more than three years, generously donated all her savings amounting to JMP 9,000,000. She remarked, "This is merely a small portion of what I can give. For the sake of defending our Fatherland and struggling for world peace, I am ready at any time to offer everything I have, even my own life."

Another student named Teng made a donation of a large gold ring which had been given him by his mother to use in case of emergency. Still another named Hsia gave away a new woolen jersey presented to him by his sweetheart. A group of girl students showed their ingenuity by making six pairs of warm cotton-padded gloves as a gift for the fighters on the bitterly cold Korean front.

HSU CHIEN

Peking College of Journalism
December 12, 1950

DISCUSSION MEETING

To the Editor:

The campaign for resisting American aggression, aiding the Korean people, defending our country and protecting our homes is reaching its height at Fuhtan. Each department has held a meeting to discuss the crimes committed by American imperialists in China, and in the middle of November many professors and nearly 2,000 students volunteered to organize themselves into different groups and go to various middle schools in the city to exchange opinions and experiences.

Our Foreign Language and Literature Department went to the private Waishing Middle School where we were very cordially welcomed. In the morning there were many speeches at a large meeting and in the afternoon we had small group meetings to discuss such questions as why Chinese volunteered to go to Korea, and why our volunteers are able to fight so successfully.

When it was time for us to leave, the visitors and pupils gathered together and danced the yanko. Everyone was very cordial and we were reluctant to say goodbye. When we had gone a distance, we looked back and saw the pupils still standing there waving their hats and handkerchiefs, and we waved our hands until we could no longer see them.

FRANCIS H. CHOW

Fuhtan University
Shanghai
November 28, 1950

MEDHURST COLLEGE

To the Editor:

The US imperialists and their accomplices, ignoring China's warning, crossed the 38th Parallel in Korea and advanced toward the border of China, directly threatening the security of our Northeast.

Therefore, a great movement, "Resist US aggression and aid Korea, defend our homes and protect our country," is rapidly spreading to every corner of China, and all the schools are promoting the movement.

At our school, Medhurst College in Shanghai, the Student's Association is taking the lead in issuing blackboard newspapers, drawing cartoons, holding discussion meetings and reading and discussing newspapers every morning before class.

One day more than 50 Fuhtan University students and professors came to visit our school. Based on mutual help and learning, we had a very good discussion in every class and study group. After this discussion some students vowed to themselves that from then on they would never again listen to the rumors of the Voice of America or see American movies.

Our studies have been correlated more closely with the present situation. In history we study the aggressive role of America in China during the past 100 years. In science we study something about the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb, and in English we study the "Manifesto of the World Congress for Peace."

Though we can study safely now in Shanghai, if any country invades China, every one of us is prepared to join the army to fight against the invader and eliminate aggression forever.

CHEN WEN-NIEH

Shanghai
November 30, 1950

A JUST STRUGGLE

To the Editor:

The statement by special delegate to the UN Security Council, Wu Hsiu-chuan, pointed out that it is the strong determination of 475,000,000 Chinese people to oppose American aggression and defend the cause of world peace. He clearly exposed all the conspiracies and plots of the Anglo-American warmongers.

His three suggestions for a peaceful settlement in Korea and the stoppage of American aggression in Taiwan were not acceptable to the mad dogs of American

CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW

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(Editor & Publisher, 1918-1949)

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imperialism, who are able to dominate the voting machine of the hypocritical majority in the UN. Thus US imperialism has been revealed in its naked form.

Many discussions have been held among the professors and students of our university. We have also cabled our support to Wu Hsiu-chuan and expressed our confindence in the success of China's just struggle.

CHU JIUNN-SHYR

Chiao Tung University
Peking
December 9, 1950

上海密勒氏評論報

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China monthly Review

Established in 1917

Cable Address:
"REVIEWING SHANGHAI"

JOHN W. POWELL
Editor and Publisher

Dear Review Reader:

We have made a few changes in this issue, the most noticeable one being the reduction of the page size. As we mentioned last month, we have long been considering this move because the old special size entailed additional paper and printing costs. The number of pages has been increased so that this issue contains as much material as previous ones.

Other slight changes include the enlarging of the China Notes and International Notes sections by a full page each. Also, we were able to include a few more letters from readers in this issue.

We will be anxious to have readers' opinions on these changes, as well as suggestions as to how we can improve the Review so as to make it more useful.

• • •

Circulation continues to grow. The last issue sold about 200 copies more than the previous issue. The fact that circulation has continued to climb with each successive issue since we switched from a monthly has been most encouraging.

This increase has in no little part been due to the efforts of those old and new subscribers who show their copies to friends and acquaintances. We appreciate the good work and hope that they will keep it up.

We are still some distance from the "break-even" point and will need quite a few more readers in order to reach it. However, we feel certain that if we can keep progressing as we have so far we'll eventually make it.

To do so, though, we will need the best efforts of all supporters.

John W Powell

PEOPLE'S VICTORY

To the Editor:

After seeing the very impressive movie, "The Victory of the Chinese People," I sat down and wrote the following lines.

I congratulate myself on living at a time when the peoples are struggling for lasting peace and have the opportunity to enjoy "The Victory of the Chinese People."

The value of this film lies in the proper use of artistic images to show the Chinese people's history of struggle in the course of the past 30 years. It shows how the broad masses of the people under the correct leadership of the Communist Party were able to shatter the fetters of imperialism and feudalism. It is the people who fight the enemy and it is again from the people that military supplies are obtained.

The movie opens with the scene of Chairman Mao reviewing the great mass parade in which the armed forces also participate. All are proceeding proudly and bravely on their own territory which has just been recaptured from the hands of the enemy. Their armed equipment is all US-made, and was sent to the people through the hands of Chiang Kai-shek.

"The Victory of the Chinese People" at the same time gives a grim picture of the old Chinese society and arouses in us certain bitter recollections of the past when working people were relentlessly ground underfoot. But the people have organized themselves and become stronger and stronger in the struggle under heavy enemy fire.

LIU HSIANG CHOW

Fuh Tan University
Shanghai
November 28, 1850

HANGCHOW TRIAL

To the Editor:

Those who do not forget easily will certainly remember an occurence that took place here at National Chekiang University three years ago when the KMT reactionary government murdered one of our student leaders. This case culminated in a mass assault against all the students who attended the funeral service of their deceased schoolmate. More than 20 students suffered physical violence from the hands of the hired thugs.

Since then the flagrant evil deeds of the KMT government have weighed heavily in the hearts of the students. Yesterday their chance for revenge came when a public trial was held of three nefarious KMT secret agents who have been identified as the chief engineers of the past assault. The trial was held on the college campus.

Seven plaintiffs went in succession to the rostrum to make their complaints against the defendants. During the plaintiffs' speeches, the audience seethed with anger and often burst forth in angry shouts. After the complaints came to an end, the three defendants were shown to have committed murder, espionage, extortion, rumor-monger-

(Continued on Page 51)

China monthly Review
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Established in 1917

The editorial pages present the opinions of the editor. The other pages of the *China Monthly Review* are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 119 (20 Shanghai, January 1951 No. 1

THE PEOPLE'S UNITY

THE past month saw Truman's adventure in Korea suffer a disastrous setback. North Korean troops, aided by the Chinese volunteers, smashed MacArthur's so-called "end war offensive" and forced the American troops and their British, Turkish, South Korean and other levies into a general retreat.

The realization was thus brought home, both to the American government and the American people that Truman's foreign adventure held very real risks. The deliberate provoking of China had brought quite unexpected results. The Chinese people had called Truman's bluff and the US was now placed in the unenviable position, militarily, of being unable to put up and so having to shut up.

When Truman intervened in the Korean civil war in an effort to save the skin of his puppet, Syngman Rhee, he committed the United States far more than he realized. It apparently came as a shock when Rhee, after launching the civil war with his American-trained, American-equipped and American-led troops, was forced to call for help.

It was at this point that Truman rashly took the step which has led America into its present serious predicament. He ordered US intervention in Rhee's behalf.

However, victory still did not come and as the days passed the American troops suffered one reverse after another. In a frantic effort to stave off defeat, Truman ordered US defenses stripped to the bone. Finally, the US was able to collect more than 200,000 American troops, plus a few thousand supporting troops from its satellites. These forces, operating in conjunction with America's huge air and naval arms, seemed to be turning the tide against tiny Korea and for a while victory in the formal phase of the war seemed within grasp.

So sure of this success were Truman and his generals that they declared that the 38th Parallel, which had long divided the country, no longer existed. Later, as US troops rushed headlong into the North Korean trap and reached the approaches to the Chinese border, "informed sources" close to the US government began "leaking" statements to the press hinting that the Yalu River, which divides China and Korea, was not a "true" boundary.

In the meantime, in an effort to intimidate the Chinese people into accepting the approach to their border of American troops, US planes began carrying out systematic bombing, strafing and reconnaissance flights over China's northeastern provinces. In addition, US naval vessels began prowling ever closer to the China coast. At least one Chinese merchantman was fired upon and forcibly searched in coastal waters.

Instead of being intimidated, the Chinese people were for the first time completely aroused to the danger which Truman's foreign policy holds for China. The American bombings of the Northeast served as the capstone to the public's education.

When American bombs fell, not once or twice, but day after day, when Chinese ships were intercepted, the people immediately understood that an all too familiar pattern was in the offing. It has only been five years since Japan, which began her aggression against China in much the same manner, was finally driven out.

The whole Korean business, culminating in the bombings, has served to put in proper focus the entire picture of American intervention in the affairs of Asia. The people now clearly see the connection between Truman's policy of protecting the puppet Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, the quick aid to the Korean puppet, Syngman Rhee, the open rearming of Japan, the plans for intervention in Indo-China, the strengthening of garrison forces in the Philippines and so on and so on.

Thus, it is not surprising that Washington's maneuvers on the political front and her protestations of friendship fail to confuse the Chinese people.

* * *

THE Truman administration's reaction to its defeat in Korea has done nothing to dispel the conviction of the Chinese people that the American government is deter-

mined to impose its will upon Asia.

The US has demonstrated its fundamental disregard for facts over the question of Taiwan. China has charged the US with illegal occupation of Chinese territory—Taiwan—and demanded that the US fleet be withdrawn from the Taiwan Straits and that US air and other military units now located in Taiwan be recalled.

The US countered by claiming that there was some "doubt" as to whether Taiwan actually belonged to China. The hypocrisy of such a maneuver is so evident as to need little comment. Suffice to say, the record shows previous official US declarations—one made by Truman himself—that the US considered Taiwan as Chinese territory.

Finally, after it was no longer able to avoid the issue, the United Nations placed China's charge on its agenda. The Chinese were asked to send a delegate to present China's case against America. However, as a result of heavy US pressure upon the delegates of America's Marshallized satellites, China's charge was sidetracked and superseded by American countercharges over Korea.

In addition to its political "offensive," the Truman administration has turned to economic sanctions in its efforts to get "revenge" and to compensate for its complete inability to handle the military tiger which it has grasped by the tail.

US ships have been forbidden to call at Chinese ports. Even foreign ships bound for China are being detained and their cargo seized if they touch at an American port, including the Panama Canal, enroute to China. A complete embargo on all US manufactured and raw materials destined for China has been decreed. Restrictions upon mail to China have been enforced and, last, all Chinese government funds in America have been frozen. Also frozen are the personal funds in America of all Chinese and foreigners resident in China.

* * *

CHINESE reaction to these moves of the American government have revealed a unity among the people which Washington obviously did not expect.

In addition to volunteering for service in Korea by the tens of thousands—more applications have been received than can be handled at the present time—the people have staged nation-wide mass demonstrations protesting against American policy in Asia and proclaiming their support of the government's determination to resist any encroachment by the US. Besides the demonstra-

A PLA unit in North China keeps its wall newspaper up to date with latest news from Korea as well as reports on the country-wide movement to resist US aggression.

Shanghai university students organized cheering and welcoming groups along the route of the professors' parade. Banner reads: "Respect the patriotism of the teachers and educational workers."

Demonstrating the seriousness of their support for the Anti-US Aggression Movement, Shanghai teachers march down Nanking Road through the heart of the shopping district.

tions, workers, farmers, PLA men, students and others from one end of the country to the other have taken a variety of pledges aimed at helping China resist US pressure.

Farmers are pledging to grow more crops. Workers throughout the country are already increasing production of all types of manufactured goods.

* * *

THE situation in Shanghai, long the main stronghold of foreign influence in China and one of the more recently liberated areas, provides an insight to what has happened to Chinese thinking in the past few months.

Because of its former role as the main treaty port and because of its later liberation Shanghai is generally considered to lag behind most other major cities of the country in many respects, particularly politically. However, even this city has undergone a very marked transformation.

Perhaps the most impressive sights—because they are not common occurrences here—were the demonstrations of the professors and the businessmen. The teachers a number of them elderly and in poor health, marched determinedly from one end of Shanghai to the other.

The parade of more than 150,000 Shanghai businessmen was no less impressive. The fact that the local businessmen topped the students' parade by more than 50,000 was in itself an indication of their concern over American foreign policy.

In addition, there have been numerous smaller demonstrations by cultural workers, welfare organizations and other special groups, ranging in size from a few hundred to a few thousand. Every day some group is out on the streets.

* * *

TODAY the people from one end of the country to the other are fully aroused to the threat which Truman's adventuristic foreign policy poses to the world, particularly and immediately to China and the rest of Asia.

The attempt by Truman and his generals to tighten their grip on Korea through the medium of the puppet Syngman Rhee regime and to "test the strength" of People's China has cost the American people dearly and, unless US policy is radically altered, the costs will go up sharply. Instead of being intimidated, the Chinese people have been more firmly united than ever before in their history.

Peasants in a Peking suburban village hold meeting to discuss world situation. Slogans on wall read: "Resist US aggression in Korea," "Support government by delivering public grain," We love peace but are not afraid of war" and "Urge the government to send troops to Korea."

Workers of the Peking Newsreel Company sign up as volunteers for Korea.

Shanghai businessmen demonstrate their support of the anti-US aggression and aid Korea movement.

Peking Opposes US War in Korea

P. C. WONG

America's intervention in the Korean civil war, plus the provocative violations of China's border by MacArthur's planes, has touched off a nation-wide wave of protest. This feeling has been particularly strong in the Northeast and North China, the areas more directly menaced by the Korean conflict. This survey of popular feeling and activities in Peking was written in the latter part of November, when the people felt the danger to China especially great and just before the Chinese volunteers launched their successful counter-attack against the American troops which at that time were virtually astride the China-Korea border—Editor.

PEKING, the peaceful capital of China, is now bursting with the new vigorous life pulsing through the nation. The eyes of the Chinese people are riveted on Korea where fire and sword are plunging toward China's frontier.

Since the fighting broke out in Korea, events have moved with ominous rapidity. Taiwan, an integral part of Chinese territory, has been invaded by US forces. During the past three months, American planes have repeatedly flown over China, bombing cities and villages and slaughtering Chinese. The security of China is seriously threatened and the people feel compelled to take action in opposing American aggression.

Since the Joint Declaration of all Chinese democratic parties was issued early in the month, the movement to "Resist US imperialism and aid Korea" has grown by leaps and bounds and on a nation-wide scale. This declaration called on all Chinese to defend their homeland as the flames of American aggression spread. This clarion call represents the voice and will of the entire Chinese people.

Resist US

Everywhere in Peking you can see the people upholding the grand slogans—"Resist US imperialism and assist the Korean people!" "Protect the fatherland and defend our homes!" These slogans reflect the mounting indignation of the Chinese people.

On the other hand, you also can see the people of Peking becoming more active on many streets in the city. Dozens gather to listen wherever street plays are performed by young students. Immediately following the final scene of one play the members of the audience spontaneously raised their fists in indignation. There were shouts of: "Down with American imperialism!" "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the Chinese People's Republic!"

All Walks of Life

There is intense excitement in the streets. Large groups of workers and students marched along carrying banners and posters, grim cartoons of their enemies and emblems of peace. They sing songs and beat drums. From all walks of life, people here are taking part in this great campaign. Workers, students, government personnel, writers and artists carry the message — "Go to Korea, go to the front"—from house to house and street to street, on the trolleys and buses. And everywhere the entire city is talking about defending China.

In the universities and colleges, professors and students alike have indicated their determination to support the national liberation war of the Korean people at discussion meetings. Many of them have offered to serve as volunteers.

Tien Suo-chung, a student at Peking University, said: "I formerly was a KMT tankman trained by the Americans. Liberation gave me the chance to study for a peaceful career. Now I know we are threatened with a return to the past. This is my opportunity to defend our new life. When our country is safe, it will be time for study."

A number of Yenching students have volunteered for Korea. One of them said: "I know fighting at the front means a hard life, but there is no harder life than to live under an alien conqueror. We know from bitter experience that it is worse than a dog's life."

An open letter to their fellow students was issued by members of the Department of Transportation at the Peking branch of Chiao Tung University. They write: "Without a doubt the American imperialists are carrying their aggressive plots to the Asian mainland. The war danger has been made clear by the US invasion of Korea. Can we wait to be killed? No, a thousand no's. We must without hesitation rise up to defend the security of our fatherland and fight for lasting world peace. The time has come for all of us to take action."

Ever since the Americans landed at Jinsen in September the workers of Peking in every plant, large or small, have been enthusiastically engaged in production — their most effective contribution to the support of the Korean people. Following the repeated air bombings of Chinese territory by American planes their fury was increased. Indignation was rife even in the ranks of the usually conservative elements.

Workers' Meeting

On November 9, workers residing in the Fifth Administrative District in Peking held a mass meeting at which more than 2,000 workers were present. Every face showed anger and excitement. After explaining the necessity of rising up to protect the homes of all and to defend the young republic, the chairman further stressed that the time had come for the Chinese people to show their patriotism and heroism and that American imperialism's wanton acts and atrocities in Korea must be halted. One after another the workers voiced their opinions:

Li Chung-to, of the Pao Chang Electric Supply Company, said: "American imperialism is the greatest enemy of the Chinese people, just as all of us here understand. It is now following in the footsteps of the Japanese, invading

Korea as the first move in bringing China under its control. But what about the Chinese people today? We workers have seen with our own eyes that the Chinese people have stood up. They no longer can be hoodwinked and they clearly see who are their enemies as well as their friends. We cannot wait for the American imperialists to kill us and our children after they have occupied our neighbor Korea. The Koreans are just like us. What they are suffering is what we suffered under the rule of the American-backed Chiang Kai-shek gang only a few years ago. Justice is on the side of the people of Korea. We must fight side by side with our oppressed neighbor. We must halt the mad aggressors. . . ."

Although the speech was not completed the whole meeting was on its feet, cheering and clapping approval. Many workers volunteered to go to Korea to fight the invading American armies.

Yin Huai-hsin, an engineer who volunteered along with 42 other workers of the Peking Machine Works, said: "The Americans don't want us to accomplish our production work in peace. I have made up my mind to fight them and defeat them. If American imperialism is not defeated production is out of the question."

The women of Peking have responded immediately to the Joint Declaration of all Chinese democratic parties. They quickly organized a committee to assist Korea and held a meeting. Speakers were numerous and all pledged to assist the Korean people with all their strength. A 57-year old woman who lost her husband in the people's revolutionary war angrily stated: "I am greatly distressed over the American aggression against our country. I am fully convinced that it would be a serious mistake to turn a deaf ear to the demands of the masses.

"In the past, many people could not lead a peaceful life under Chiang Kai-shek and many wanted to get rid of him. My husband thought that Chiang was a bad egg and when the Communists came they said the same thing. My husband and I believed the Communists so he volunteered to join the PLA and now you see Chiang has been kicked out, although my husband died too soon to witness this great victory of the masses.

"Now the Americans have come once more to enslave innocent people. I am old but I cannot tolerate this. My sons and daughters have all volunteered to go to Korea to fight the American imperialists, like their father who fought Chiang Kai-shek. As for me, I want to be a volunteer. Although I cannot use a gun, still I at least can do some kind of work to support our fighters. I have learned from my own experience that without defending our nation nobody's home is safe."

Chinese Persecuted in Malaya

BRITISH persecution of overseas Chinese living in Malaya has met with strong condemnation in people's China. In Peking on December 4, returned overseas Chinese issued an official protest to the British.

The protest stated that the British in Malaya have arrested thousands of innocent overseas Chinese, imprisoned them in concentration camps, prisons and detention houses, cruelly flogged them, killed some openly and in secret, and deported others.

According to the protest, even the British authorities admit that within one year after the promulgation of their June 1948 "emergency regulation," 600 overseas Chinese have been openly killed in Malaya. Since that time more than 35,000 overseas Chinese have been deported. The protest notes many other acts of the British, such as suppressing public opinion of the overseas Chinese and hindering the development of their educational facilities. The Peking issued statement demanded that the British authorities in the Malayan colony immediately cease all persecution and release all those Chinese under arrest.

Since the British "emergency regulation" was put into force, the arrest of Chinese has been speeded up. By means of this the British police and troops can shoot any unarmed overseas Chinese for "not stopping when ordered to do so," or "for disobeying orders." No proof is required.

In addition, British police have been reported to frequently plant bullets or other "evidence" in the clothes or homes of overseas Chinese whom they wish to arrest. According to the present law, "possessing arms without a permit" or "being in collusion with bandits" are both punishable by death.

* * *

FIRST hand accounts of British colonial cruelty were forthcoming in Swatow when, on December 11, a group of nearly 700 Chinese who had been deported from Malaya arrived. They told of bitter experiences and persecution in Malaya. Prior to being deported they were interned in concentration camps where they were subjected to all kinds of torture, such as water or pepper juice being poured into their noses, branding, exposure to a burning tropical sun, piercing with needles and other instruments.

One woman worker, Tseng Kwei-pung, who was disabled as a result of prison treatment, told of another woman who went through the same torture routine and was beaten so badly that she was incapable of uttering a sound. However, the British police continued trying to force her to answer. When finally she opened her mouth, a pen was forced down her throat.

Chung Tien-chi, another deportee, said: "When I was taken into the police station, British soldiers tortured me by turns and I was questioned all night. Afterwards I was soaked with cold water and hung up in the open air, with my hands and feet bound. I was left for eight days and nights despite mosquitoes and storms."

Most of the nearly 700 deported Chinese had been low paid Malayan rubber plantation workers for many years. At the time of deportation, everything they owned was taken from them, leaving them without clothes or bedding. They arrived in Swatow with a piece of hemp sackcloth as the only material to cover their bodies.

Reforming the Colleges

An interview with Tsao Wei-feng (曹未風), Deputy Director of the Higher Education Department of East China.

by Sylvia Campbell

SINCE liberation there have been many changes in educational work throughout the country. So far the changes have been mostly concerned with higher education, but it is planned to carry out a thorough-going reformation of the nation's educational system from top to bottom. In order to appreciate the need for such a reform program it is first necessary to understand what conditions were like in the schools and colleges under the Kuomintang.

One of the characteristics of the old higher education was that when the students had received their diplomas they found themselves very inadequately prepared for the practical aspects of life in China.

Influence of Foreign Ways

Almost without exception the schools used foreign language textbooks. The great majority of the professors were returned students who had received their higher degrees in America and Europe and who naturally taught what they had been taught.

Their materials referred to foreign countries. For example, in civil engineering they studied the large engineering projects in America and England. America's Tennessee Valley Authority was always cited as the example in classes studying waterworks. In political science, economics, the social sciences, in education it was the same. Scarcely ever was an example from China used. One result of this was that students were often better informed on conditions and developments in America or European countries than they were on conditions in China.

Another characteristic was that teachers emphasized the importance of pure learning and the academic value of the work, slighting the political problems then facing China. In fact, students were urged to ignore current developments in China. When one of the periodic national crises occurred, students who participated in political activity were considered unruly.

PROFESSOR TSAO, who is one of China's leading authorities on Shakespeare, has held a number of teaching and editorial positions in China. He was formerly in charge of the editorial department of Commercial Press and is still teaching a few hours at Kwanghwa University. In 1938 and 1939 he attended King's College at London University.—Editor.

Another point which must be noted is that a large majority of the students in the universities and colleges in the past came from well-to-do families, either from city merchants or compradores or from rural landlord families. Because of their background, they were more closely related to the rich, bourgeoisie and landlord classes, so naturally they returned to the ruling classes and had the same class interests as their families.

There were, of course, exceptions, as the many important student political movements in recent years testify. Many students confronted by the deplorable conditions prevailing in the country, and influenced by the revolutionary movement, did their best to arouse their fellow students and other classes of society to fight for reforms. Many of the country's present progressive leaders received their early political education while in school.

Many Changes Needed

It can thus be seen that the change needed is not only a reformation of the curriculum. It is a much bigger change.

Article 41 of the Common Program states that education shall be a new democratic one which is national, scientific and popular. To begin the process of implementing the required changes, a higher educational conference was held last June to discuss ways and means and specific problems.

One of the resolutions of the conference was that the aim of higher education must be in accordance with the Common Program. The educational method must be to unite theory and practice, to cultivate those who have a higher cultural level and help them to master the accomplishments of modern science and technique so that they will be able to serve the people well. This is the general aim of the new higher education.

The work is being done along two parallel lines. One is the reformation of the old universities and colleges, the other is the establishment of new-type universities and colleges.

Two Types of Schools

There are at the present moment two types of higher schools in existence—the old and the new. The People's University in Peking and the East China Revolutionary University are examples of the new type. There are also many agricultural and medical colleges in Shantung of the new type and all the higher schools in the Northeast are established on the new model.

These new schools are doing experimental work — using new methods, new textbooks, new organization and new tutor systems, based in large part on the experience gained in the Soviet Union. However, they are still in the experimental stage and will undergo changes.

The most important work now going on in East China is the reformation of the old schools. It will take some years for the country as a whole to be benefited by the work being done in the new schools. Therefore, the most urgent task is to speed up the work of reforming the old schools.

The change being made in the old schools is usually referred to as Reformation of Curriculum, but actually there are other changes. For instance, one is in the reformation of educational methods so as to use the system of uniting theory and practice in order to avoid on the one hand the dogmatism of knowledge for knowledge's sake and on the other hand to avoid

strict empiricism with no time spent on theoretical knowledge.

Another change is the emphasis on the "establishment of the new viewpoint"—a sort of mental housecleaning in which the old feudal prejudices and misconceptions are to be swept away so that one can approach the new learning with an open and objective mind.

A third is to train students according to the needs of the country in its reconstruction efforts, thus eliminating some of the unnecessary parts of the textbooks which have no relationship with the construction work in China. For example, courses in the practical sciences are to be expanded, while not so much emphasis will be placed on the less useful courses.

The fourth is to coordinate education with the work of other ministries. The new system lays greater emphasis on laboratory work also. Vacations are spent in factories, working on the railways, etc. In addition the various ministries will arrange for students to work in their different departments as part of the regular curriculum.

Part of this program calls for the turning over of those colleges with only one department to the ministries concerned. The Ministry of Education will, however, continue to exercise some supervision, such as appointing the heads of the institution, setting the political education standards, salaries and scholarship standards. The appointment of professors, selection of textbooks, working out of curriculum and the matter of daily expenditure will be taken care of by the supervising ministry.

In East China a number of such transfers have already taken place. The Music Academy in Kiaochow and the National College of Art in Hangchow are now under the East China Ministry of Culture, the Fisheries College under the Ministry of Fisheries, the College of Industry under the Ministry of Heavy Industries, and two medical colleges are now under the Ministry of Health. In Shanghai, the former Shanghai Municipal Dramatic School is now under the municipal Bureau of Culture.

The fifth point is to establish different short-term training colleges or correspondence schools or evening classes to meet the needs of the national construction work.

Shortening Study Hours

The sixth change is in the length of study. Formerly all colleges had four-year courses, but now the departments vary in accordance with the number of years actually required to learn specific subjects. There are at present three-year, four-year and five-year departments, the maximum of five years being for medical and engineering students.

There are 17 weeks of actual study time in each term and the standard set for study per week is from 44 to 50 hours. This includes classwork, laboratory work and study hours. Extra-curricular work, such as meetings, should not exceed six hours per week.

This new schedule is in sharp contrast with the system followed under the Kuomintang which felt that the best way to keep students out of political activity was to burden them with long study assignments.

Another change is in reforming the old ideas of the teachers and retraining them, as well as training new teachers. One method is through collective and planned teaching. In the national universities teaching groups are formed if there are three or more professors teaching the same subject. They prepare their lessons together, compare their lecture notes and discuss the subject and teaching method to be used. In addition, they watch the students in order to guide them in their homework. The teaching groups are also responsible for the writing and editing of new textbooks, all of which, with the exception of foreign language texts, will be written in Chinese.

These principles were adopted at the National Higher Educational Conference last summer and all the higher educational institutions throughout the country have been asked to carry them out and to draft plans for the "reforming of their own curricula."

New Ideas Instituted

After the national conference, all schools started to make changes in their curriculum. They eliminated those classes which bore no direct relationship with the present national construction program. For instance, in the course on Chinese history, it was formerly the custom to start with the very beginning of China, going back to the most ancient records. Such a method required much time before the student arrived at the modern period. Now, the subject has been divided, with students beginning with modern history. Later, those students specializing in history can go back to the medieval or ancient period.

The professors were organized into different groups, some of whom entered various revolu-

Transport — *by Ping Ni*

tionary colleges to learn the new teaching methods and to acquire the new political outlook. This "transformation" of the professors is being done in several phases. Some professors were already prepared politically before liberation but they were only a small minority. The rest have been having a rather difficult time because the students demand such a lot of knowledge and the professors have to prepare their classroom work very carefully.

In regard to changing the textbooks, some universities have already begun work. Shanghai's Chiaotung University, for example, has set up a schedule whereby all textbooks will be changed into Chinese within four years. This term all the freshmen texts are in Chinese. Next year all sophomore texts will be in Chinese. Actually, the teachers hope to finish the job ahead of schedule, completing the junior and senior textbooks in the third year.

Before liberation all professors in Shanghai's Tung Chi University lectured in German and nearly all books were in German. Freshman students had to spend 16 hours a week just studying German. This year the courses are being given in Chinese, thus saving the students a great amount of time.

Bright Future for Graduate

One of the most-important developments in the educational field has been the greatly brightened prospects for college graduates. Last summer all graduates were offered jobs by the government in various parts of the country. Thus, for the first time in China's history they were not only fully employed but could work in the fields for which they had been trained.

Another aspect of this new planning is that beginning next year the schools will decide how many students to take into each department after consultations between the Ministry of Education and other ministries. For example, some national ministries already entered into a contract with Tsinghua University stating that after four years they will need so many graduates of certain departments. Thus, the university can plan its courses for students in a scientific way, turning out neither too many nor too few engineers, chemists, economists, etc.

* * *

THE recent East China Conference on Higher Education was called for the purpose of implementing the overall decisions made at the National Conference. Throughout the country there are at present 227 higher educational schools. As of May 1950 there were 134,000 students. Of the universities and colleges, 61 percent were national, 29 percent private and 10 percent missionary institutions. Altogether there are 65 universities, 92 four-year colleges and 70 two or three-year colleges.

The distribution of these schools, however, is very uneven. As of last May, East China had 85 schools, or 37.4 percent of the nation's total. In Shanghai alone there are 43 higher educational schools which is 20 percent of the total for the entire country.

On the basis of these figures it is evident that the number of higher schools throughout the country is still inadequate. China needs more colleges and more students.

At the East China Conference there were 230 delegates from the whole district which stretches from Shantung to Fukien, representing 69 schools. The first task of the conference was to exchange experiences on the work already under way. Discussions of this subject touched many different aspects of educational work, such as improvement of teaching methods, staffing of the schools and the question of students' health.

Problems Solved

Tung Chi University revealed during these discussions that it had solved the problem of decreasing the study hours by reorganizing several subjects into one class. For example, a student of civil engineering formerly had to take many courses in other departments in order to acquire a "general" education along with his technical training. Under the new system the engineering students attend a special class in which the professors have brought a number of general but important subjects together. This new system not only has the advantage of shortening the schedule of the students, but has also enabled them to obtain a much more comprehensive and balanced picture of the whole field.

A number of universities revealed that they had already started using the joint teaching method. Shantung University reported that in its classes in freshman physics and freshman chemistry this method had been tried and proved quite successful. The professors attend each other's classes in order to gain ideas for improving their work. They meet together to exchange experiences, to discuss lecture notes, teaching techniques, etc.

The system of staffing universities that was inherited from the Kuomintang was quite unreasonable and must be radically altered. In the first place, under the old system the administrative staff had the most say about the university. This is being changed, with more control of policy and other matters being placed in the hands of the deans and professors.

* * *

EAST China is much better supplied with institutions of higher education than any other comparable section of the country. This situation also holds true for the private missionary schools. Of the total of 14 such institutions throughout the country, 11 are in East China. Education in East China has also been more heavily influenced by foreign imperialism.

In the near future all the private schools and universities, including missionary ones, will be registered and will form new boards of directors. According to the decision of the National Higher Educational Conference, all properties which were originally held by the missions and all administrative jobs that were originally held by personnel other than Chinese will be taken over by Chinese.

All of these problems inherited from the Kuomintang are being tackled step by step, and complete reformation of the colleges and universities will take time. However, each coming year should see an improvement in making education national, scientific and popular as stipulated in the Common Program.

Organizing a New Labor Union

A stevedores' union to replace the gang rule of the "bosses" faced many difficulties in its initial stage in the Fukien coastal port of Chuanchow.

THE formation of a modern, revolutionary labor movement, like many of the other new things which are being ushered into this old land, was no easy task in Chuanchow. It was, in fact, an entirely new thing to those of us who only recently had joined the revolutionary movement.

At the time of liberation this city, like most of the other coastal or river ports in China, had an established "labor movement." However, as was the case in many other ports, the stevedores and other transport workers were organized in feudal gang societies, each of which was dominated by a local despot whose rule was backed up by gangsters.

It was our job to help these transport workers reorganize their "unions" into modern democratic organizations which would really look after the welfare of the workers. However, this was not easy as we soon discovered.

Investigation Work

The first move was to send a group of cadres to investigate living and working conditions among the dock workers. As soon as we arrived, we were surrounded by a large number of self-proclaimed workers who talked in a very progressive manner. However, it soon became apparent that these "workers" were in reality the henchmen of the gang bosses. Their good clothes and comparatively prosperous appearance gave them away.

Looking around for the real workers we spotted them standing at some distance, cowed into submission by the menacing scowls and threatening looks of the gangsters. We approached one laborer standing nearby, but he was quite uncommunicative, just stood there and smirked at us.

Long accustomed to a hostile attitude on the part of officials, the workers found it difficult to believe that men in uniform would really take an interest in their welfare. Also, even if they wished to speak out, they dared not, fearing the vengeance of the gang bosses.

After this unsuccessful expedition, we held a discussion meeting among ourselves and decided to go again, but this time to wear ordinary civilian clothing. This visit was rather more successful and we found out quite a bit about the life of the workers and the inner workings of their "union." Control, as we had suspected, was in the hands of a few top bosses who, instead of using their organization to promote the welfare of the workers, sweated them for every possible cent of profit. As a result the workers took it out on the travellers and shippers, pilfering and stealing as much as possible.

The rules of the "union" were: 1) Pay 0.15 ounce of gold to the boss as a deposit before going to work. 2) Pay a monthly fee to the boss of two *tous* of rice.

This payment was compulsory for unless a worker joined the "union" he was not allowed to work. The extortion by the despot was considered as the price which the worker had to pay in order to obtain a position where he could squeeze and rob those travellers who did not have "connections" or official friends to protect them.

However, there were other levies enforced by the bosses. Union members were required to present gifts to the boss upon such occasions as a birth, wedding or death in the latter's family.

Organizing Was Difficult

In view of such conditions it was not easy to organize the first union. Eventually we were able to persuade about 1,000 workers to join together and organize a new union along modern, progressive lines. However, the fact that this area was subject to KMT air raids which discouraged shipping made organization work difficult. Those who joined the new union expected the union and the government to solve their living problems immediately. When they found that the new union could not obtain immediate work for them they tended to become discouraged.

Under such conditions we had to struggle against the waverers, to make them understand that the benefit of the individual can come about only through the improvement of the whole. Naturally it was difficult to discuss such matters with practical men who had families to look after.

The work was made much harder during this period by the activities of the old bosses and their agents who missed no opportunities for spreading rumors. The workers were constantly told that in the old days the bosses "looked out" for the workers, that there was work, and so on and so on.

Our work was at a crucial stage. We were having difficulty in holding the organization together. At this point word came that a ship was expected from Hongkong. Rumors flew thick and fast and it was reported that 400 non-union workers had been hired for the unloading job.

The whole union was boiling. "What's the use of joining the union if non-union workers can get work?" They were expecting the union to give them protection. If we failed, the union would undoubtedly collapse.

Transporting Bricks *by Wu Chin-fa*

It was up to us to get the job for our union. However, we were not certain that we could succeed. The government policy requires that the free will of the capitalists be respected so we were forced to bid for the job just like others. Unfortunately, the consignees and the brokers were conservative businessmen who distrusted and disliked unions so our chances did not look too good. The only bright spot in the picture was that the merchants were anxious to unload the ship as quickly as possible because they were afraid of KMT bombings.

Finally, we got the job because we convinced the merchants that we were better organized and could certainly unload the ship within the required time.

Dividing Up the Work

After a preliminary discussion with the workers, it was decided that 600 would be sufficient for the job. The question then arose as to who was to get the work. All the union members wanted work but there were jobs for only slightly more than half the members.

Finally, after much discussion, the members agreed to the setting up of a three point system by which the workers would be chosen. 1) Those who had been completely out of employment for a long time and who thus were in most urgent need. 2) Those who had part time or temporary outside work but who still needed the job because of heavy family responsibilities. 3) Those who had other work and who could afford to pass up this job.

Since the workers had been together for a long time they knew each other well and were able to decide who should get the work without too much difficulty.

The elected 600 were then divided into three groups and given assignments. One group was to remove the cargo from the ship to a hastily improvised floating bridge, the second to move it across the 300-meter long bridge to shore and the third to carry it to the camouflaged assembly points from which it would later be transported to the city.

The landing place, chosen because of safety considerations, was about 15 miles from the city. When we went there the night before the ship was scheduled to arrive, we were accompanied by nearly all the political leaders of the city, who were anxious for this shipment to come off successfully since it would encourage other merchants to bring in goods through the KMT blockade.

The evening was spent in group discussion. The workers were divided up into many small groups, each of which elected a chairman to lead the discussion on how the work could best be performed.

It was really an education for us to see and hear these workers seriously discussing a subject which a few months before would have been of no interest to them. Before they were told what to do. Now they were told to think what they should do. The two were just a step apart, but that step made the men feel that they were human beings once more.

The next day we had a final mobilization meeting. The chairman of the union explained the importance of the task. He was followed by each group leader who gave an assurance that his unit would perform its assigned task. Challenges were offered and accepted by the various groups.

It was almost noon when we discovered that the temporary wharf which we had built was altogether unsuitable for the job. It was at most three and a half feet wide and very frail. All the workmen agreed that it should be rebuilt, but there was not much time left.

Strenuous Work

Another mobilization meeting was called and within an hour trucks were rushing back and forth to the city hauling additional planks and gasoline drums. The wharf was torn up and work on a new one, 10 feet wide, was begun. For two busy hours trucks were coming and going, men were stooping up and down. Everyone was hurrying. Not a single idle man could be seen. Within two hours the new bridge was completed—a job that normally would have required a day or more.

The merchants were amazed at the speed of the work and the brokers were delighted that the extra work had not cost them anything because our workers did not ask for payment. They repeatedly expressed their thanks and declared that they were willing to give double pay to the workers once the goods were safely landed.

When the ship arrived our workers rushed to work. There was no tardiness, no delinquency. All night they worked at top speed for they realized that with the coming of the morning KMT planes might appear. Finally, the job was finished—ahead of schedule.

And now we came to the matter of settling the amount of wages with the brokers who had had the contract for unloading the ship. Up until this moment relations had been most pleasant, with the brokers praising the workers' efficiency and promising them extra pay. We stated, on behalf of the workers, that what we wanted was a just and reasonable pay, no more and no less.

Negotiating the Dispute

The brokers then offered, with a very generous air as if money was of no matter, to pay the workers 30 catties of rice each. We declined, saying that this sum did not suit us. Then the tussle began.

They asked us to name a figure. We said that all we wanted was reasonable pay, and pointed out that we knew that the brokers were to receive a commission of 250,000 catties of rice for the job if it was successfully carried out. The dockers had worked as hard as they ever had, hurrying under great pressure to get the job done in such a short time. They had built and re-built the landing wharf and, what's more, the cargo had been landed without any pilferage or heavy breakage as was so often the case.

The brokers became quite upset when they discovered that we knew just how much profit they stood to make on the job. Finally, the workers stated that they wanted 100 catties of rice each, which would leave the brokers, who had done very little to ensure the safe landing of the goods, with a clear profit of 190,000 catties of rice. The brokers offered 50 catties. Neither side would give in and the matter reached a deadlock.

The merchants petitioned the Military Control Commission to mediate the dispute, but the Commission refused since this was a dispute between labor and capital over the matter of wages alone and thus should be settled between the two parties.

Finally, the workers suggested that the wage be calculated on the basis of the various commodities involved. For valuable commodities, the rate would be higher, for cheaper goods the rate would be lower. The brokers agreed to this idea and a calculation was made. However, as the counting continued, the brokers' faces fell. There

could be no disputing the amount of cargo since it was all there in black and white. When the calculation was completed, it came to a total of 150,000 catties of rice. The brokers refused to accept this solution, despite the fact that originally they had agreed to it.

The brokers then tried the tactic of delay. They appealed to all the government bureaus they could think of. They threatened, they pleaded. However, the answer was always the same: This is a clear wage dispute. Settle it amicably between yourselves.

Victory for the Union

In the old days, the brokers could have greased a few official palms and KMT troops would have been ordered out to arrest the union leaders and disperse the workers. However, a new day had arrived and eventually the brokers had to pay.

The final payment was slightly more than the workers' original demand since the matter had dragged on for some weeks and the temper of both the workers and the public had risen. However, the brokers still managed to make a greater profit from the job than they normally obtained.

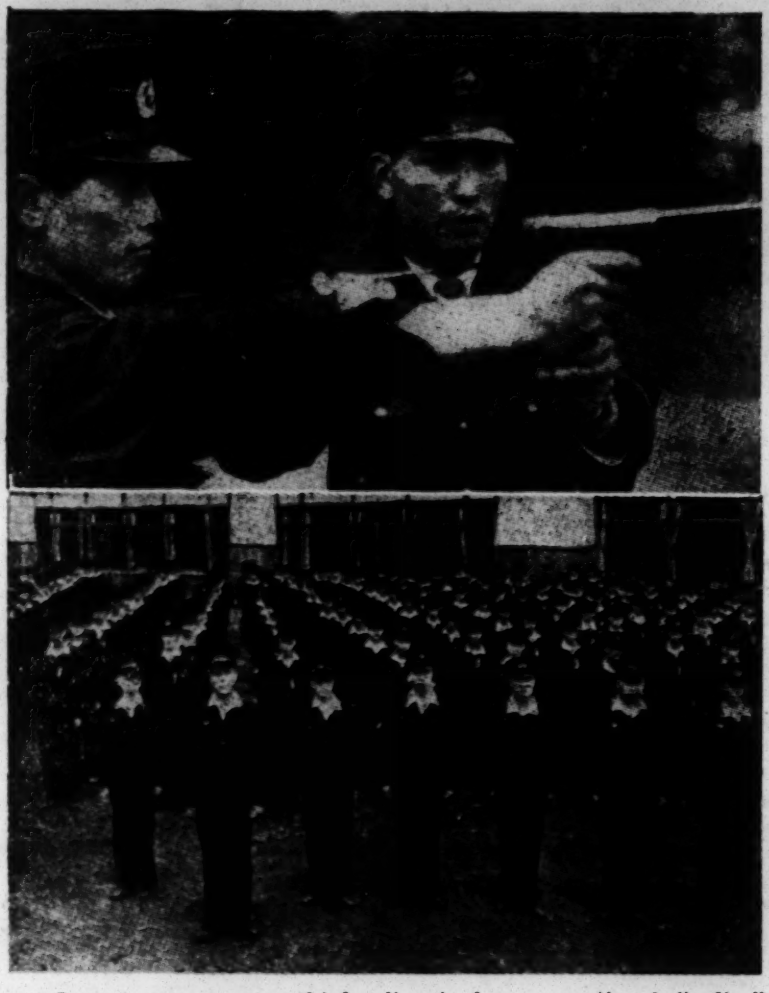
This was perhaps the first time that labor had ever won a dispute with management in this town. Everyone was very impressed. For the first time the fact was brought home to the capitalists that they now had to treat workers fairly, that the time of unbridled exploitation and oppression was gone forever. The laborers, hitherto indifferent to the formation of new unions, bitter but helpless against the exploitation, began to realize their united strength.

The struggle has not ended with this victory, however. It just began. Membership of the union grew rapidly. One by one the unions for the different trades were formed.

The organization is not merely for the purpose of fighting with employers for just treatment. It is a method of getting together to study, to heighten the individual's political consciousness, to improve the cultural and educational level of the masses. This is a period of preparation so that the workers can assume with responsibility the role of the leading class which history has assigned to them.

— EUCHINIC HUANG

The New Japanese Army



Japan's new army, thinly disguised as a national "police" force, is rapidly being recruited and trained under direct orders from General MacArthur.

In an article describing the rearming of "ex-enemies" Germany and Japan, the American magazine *US News and World Report*, from which the two above pictures are reproduced, said:

"A Japanese national police force of 75,000 men, now being formed under [MacArthur's] orders, is looked upon as a new *defensive army* that can take the place, within Japan, of the US divisions already sent to Korea.

". . . The new police reserve is to be operated along army lines. Japanese officials say that it will be recruited among young unmarried men from the rural districts. Since General MacArthur is insisting on maximum speed, the police reserve is *to be manned by former soldiers* who are familiar with weapons and the requirements of discipline. It will be commanded by *former military officers* . . . Initially, they are to be equipped with side arms, machineguns, armored cars, and possibly light tanks and mortars.

"This force is to be separate from the present police establishment numbering 125,000, which was created under Diet legislation and is under the supervision of an independent public safety commission. The new organization is not to be authorized or approved by the Diet, as the Japanese constitution seems to require. General MacArthur's aides *admit that this is extra-legal. They contend that his directive supersedes the constitution. . .*"

CHRISTIAN WORK IN CHINA

CHARGES that the new China is anti-Christian have been circulating abroad with increasing frequency in recent months.

Many residents in China have received inquiries from friends and relatives in America, Britain and other foreign countries asking if it is "still possible" to go to church, if religious services can be conducted openly, and so on.

For those readers abroad who are interested in the role of Christianity in People's China, the *Review* presents the following two statements written by two Christian workers in this country. One is by Dr. Kao Chung-mei, a Protestant pastor who has lived and worked in Yenan, the old capital of the Liberated Areas, for the past several years. The other is by Earl Willmott, of West China Union University in Chengtu.

* * *

I ARRIVED at Yenan, Shensi province, on June 1, 1937, to work in the Yenan District Association of the Church of Christ in China. Shortly after my arrival the local authorities called a meeting for the purpose of promoting closer relations between different parties and I attended as a representative of the local religious groups.

At the meeting it was decided that there should be no interference with the work of the church, that the individual might follow any party or believe in any religion which he chooses.

Still later, at a meeting in one of the churches, Chairman Mao Tse-tung personally praised the work of Christians in the district who had been caring for wounded soldiers and who had been supplying medical supplies to the troops during the war against Japan.

A few days after the South Anhwei Incident in 1941, the authorities asked me to explain the attitude of the church toward the government.

I replied: "We obey all government regulations. But religious freedom must be upheld. We cannot obey the government if religious freedom is not guaranteed the people." The authorities assured me that there was no change in the government policy of complete freedom of religious belief.

Again, at a meeting on November 7, 1944, the authorities clearly reaffirmed this attitude of the government. During the following Christmas season the authorities sent representatives to comfort the Christians in the area.

As to our work, we emphasize personal visits to Christians' homes. We hold church services in private homes, we preach in the nearby villages and we preach to individuals. Also, we hang up pictures and preach in local gathering places.

The colleagues meet in the mornings to sing hymns and pray. In the evenings we hold prayer meetings. When resting in the fields after work, we study the Bible and read other religious works.

— DR. KAO CHUNG-MEI

* * *

CHINESE Christians have been deeply affected by their study of Marx-Leninism and by the criticism of Christianity by the Communists. Particularly they are ready to eschew all connection with imperialism.

Some Christian leaders, it seems to me, have too readily and meekly accepted all the new ideas and allowed them, consequently, to upset their Christian beliefs. They have done this, not because a real understanding of the new philosophy convinced them that it was true and some of Christianity false, but because it was the popular thing to do and because they saw that Christianity in China is deeply influenced by Western capitalist culture and felt they must quickly get rid of all such.

Others have begun a careful study of the Communist books and have honestly criticized and tested Christian beliefs in the light of the new learning. The result has not been forthwith to throw over the old and grasp the new, but to make a new synthesis. Many ideas that previously seemed to be correct have been seen to be wrong. Some ideas that may have been beclouded by unworthy notions are now clarified.

I await with keen interest the resultant theology. I have a feeling that the Chinese Christian Church may be a world leader in developing the religion which will be the dynamic of a socialist society as Protestantism was the religion of capitalist society. I think this is more likely to happen in China than in the USSR or the eastern European countries because the Christianity of China is not so deeply rooted in the country's cultural tradition, nor was it such a superstitious and reactionary religion as that of those countries before their revolutions. Also, the Chinese, I believe, are more rational about religion.

Foreigners in China

In spite of the fact that we are naturally under some suspicion of being agents of the imperialist governments, or at least propagators of imperialist culture, we have been allowed an extraordinary degree of freedom. As far as I know, our mail has not been molested, we use our radios, we live pretty much as we have lived before.

Of course, there are limitations: We cannot leave or travel without permission (similar travel regulations were enforced by the Kuomintang.—Editor); we must inform the police station if we are away from home for the night; we may not preach except inside a church.

No one has been told to leave. However, in some cases missionaries have felt sure that the Chinese church leaders would rather they were not here. In the past missionaries carried considerable, often far too much weight in church councils. Now they are, perhaps, regarded with somewhat less consideration than they deserve—or perhaps not. For after all, we have probably got an exaggerated idea of our importance! Most of the missionaries of the university staff, I believe, feel that they are not only welcome to stay, but really are wanted here.

— EARL WILLMOTT

Philippine Liberation Movement

US aid to corrupt Quirino regime has little effect in halting islands' national liberation movement which is led by a people's army daily growing stronger.

RECENT press dispatches indicate that all is not well with America's pride and joy in Asia, the new Philippine Republic. A series of visits by military-political-economic missions composed of US experts have resulted in recommendations that the Manila regime must have immediate, large-scale American aid if it is to survive.

While such "recommendations" have a familiar ring, particularly in Asia where they have come to herald the approaching demise of another puppet regime, they have special significance when applied to the Philippines. Ever since the United States "bought" the Philippine Islands from Spain for US$20,000,000 following Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War, the US has lavished special attention on this country.

During the period 1899-1941 the United States went to considerable pains to inform the world that it was preparing its "wards" for eventual independence. In the meantime, it was stressed, the US administration was a model and a challenge to Europe's colonial powers.

Japanese Conquest

The Japanese upset this model colony when they overran the country following the outbreak of the Pacific War late in 1941. When General MacArthur departed just before the capitulation, so did a large part of the "leadership" which America had been training. The bulk of that which stayed displayed its talent by serving the Japanese during their four-year occupation.

When the dust had settled following the Japanese conquest, a native leadership, one which had not been trained by US administrators but which had been actively suppressed under the American occupation, began to organize the people for armed resistance to the invaders. For four long years the Philippine guerilla army, known as the Hukbalahaps, waged an unremitting struggle from the jungle and mountain fastnesses of the islands.

Upon their return the Americans found the "Huks" in control of large sections of the hinterland. Basing themselves upon popular support, the Huks had become a people's army and a factor in Philppine affairs which the returning Americans, as well as the "trained leadership" which followed them back from such war-time watering places as Washington and New York, had to take into account.

The desire for independence and internal reform had become so strong among the people that there was no question of resuming the old colonial relationship. Thus, on July 4, 1946, the American flag was hauled down and, with much fanfare, the United States announced that it had "granted" the Filipinos their independence.

"Trained Leadership"

There then arose the question of organizing a native government to accept authority from the Americans. However, this actually was not much of a problem as General MacArthur merely dusted off what remained of the "trained leadership" and vested it with governing authority. The excuse for this maneuver was that the US had long planned for the independence of the islands and had, in fact, granted limited authority in pre-war years to an elected administration, the remaining representatives of which were these "trained leaders." The fact that these leaders had sat the war out in America and that an entirely new leadership has arisen from the ranks of the people was ignored. Apparently Washington felt that the "trained leadership," elected a half decade or more before and under its auspices, was more representative!

To set the new republic off to a flying start and, incidentally, to help cement the power of the newly-installed regime, the US appropriated substantial sums for rehabilitation schemes, such as the indemnification of war losses, purchase of urgently needed consumer goods, general reconstruction, etc.

In the intervening years, the US has shown extreme consideration for its former colony. Additional monies have been spent to keep the islands afloat---most estimates place the total at more than US$2,000,000,000. US advisers and US advice have been supplied in plentiful quantities while some 20 US military bases have been established throughout the islands to ensure the fledgling republic's "security."

However, despite all the attention which the Truman administration has lavished upon the new republic, the Philippines of Elpidio Quirino seems to be in about the same shape as was the China of Chiang Kai-shek or, more recently, the Korea of Syngman Rhee.

The answer is neither far to seek nor difficult to find. Despite the facade of independence, the Philippines remains a colony and the relations between the islands and the United States differ in only a few minor respects from the relations which exist between Malaya and Great Britain or between Indo-China and France

The Philippine Republic is a colony which is continuously and thoroughly milked by the larger and more successful American entrepreneurs, as well as by the native quislings who serve Washington's interests. The result is that extreme all-round poverty is the lot of the majority of the people.

* * *

THE fact that there existed a strong, people's army at the time of American reconquest made it imperative for the US and its trained native leadership to give heed to the popular demand for reform.

The Americans and the new Philippine government were quick to see the "dangers" inherent in the situation if the people's demands were not propitiated. The people, having learned the value of mass organization and having discovered their own strength during the days of the Japanese occupation, constituted a "menace" to the old order.

Thus, several schemes were inaugurated. First, the US agreed to consider the Huks as a branch of the allied forces in the war against Japan and to pay them "back salary" for the period they had been fighting the Japanese. The catch, however, was that in order to pick up their pay checks the guerilla fighters had to register themselves, have their registration validated by the new Philip-

pine government *and were required to surrender their arms.*

Next, the new government promised the people all sorts of reforms, including one of the most needed—land reform. A plan was even drawn up for dividing the great feudal estates among the tenants and the dispossessed. However, as in China and South Korea, the landlords were the officials and the officials were the landlords, so the plan was shelved. An additional stumbling block was the Catholic Church which is one of the great landowners in the Philippines.

The industrialization of the country was also promised so as to provide jobs for the unemployed and to raise the country's production, thereby increasing national wealth and improving the standard of living. However, such an idea was frowned upon by the American benefactors since the Philippines had long been a profitable dumping ground for surplus American consumer goods.

The end result of this situation was that although large sums of the American taxpayers' money were pumped into the Philippines, nearly all of it was siphoned off by the American vested interests and their Filipino puppets. Little if any filtered down to the people who had been most severely affected by the war and who were most urgently in need.

Settlement of War Claims

An example of how this worked is provided by the war damage claims settlement. America agreed to pay war claims and a claims office was established. However, a claimant had to get his claim verified by the government. The result was that the Filipino and American big shots — including General MacArthur who received something more than US$1,000,000 for damages to his personal holdings in the islands—got their claims paid with dispatch, while the little people ran afoul of red tape, inefficiency and a corrupt bureaucracy.

However, this is only part of the story. In order to get this American "aid," the Philippine government had to accept several conditions advanced by the US. One was that the Philippine constitution be changed so that American businessmen and other residents in the islands be given preferential treatment over other foreigners and be put on an equal footing with native Filipinos. Another stipulation was that no restrictions be placed on imports from the United States and that monies made in the islands by Americans be freely transferrable to the United States.

Today, despite the huge outlay of US dollars, the Philippines is facing a dollar "crisis." As fast as the money arrived in the Philippines, it was sent back to America, either as profits of American companies, as nest eggs for corrupt Filipino politicos or as payments for luxury consumer goods which have flooded the Philippine market since the end of the war.

Manila has been called the most Americanized city in Asia and in many respects this is certainly true. Stores stock American chewing gum (the Philippines is the biggest foreign buyer of American gum), cosmetics, nylons, novelties, etc. Instead of machinery for the islands' industry, the US credits have been spent on expensive motor cars for the 20,000-strong American colony and for the Filipino bigwigs; instead of fertilizer for the farmers, US wheat and rice have been dumped on the market to further depress prices of agricultural products; instead of needed seeds, farm equipment and the like, US$24,000,000 was spent last year for American cigarettes.

For those who watched the decline and fall of Kuomintang China the pattern is quite familiar.

Heavy Unemployment

Today there are 3,000,000 unemployed out of a total population of less than 20,000,000. One-third of the national income goes to one percent of the population. Illiteracy is now 51.2 percent and, according to the *Manila Chronicle*, is "growing every year." In five years, the government has spent all its reserves and has run up a deficit of nearly US$300,000,000.

When it became evident that the government was more intent upon carrying out America's bidding—and lining its own pockets in the process—than it was in reconstructing and developing the country, the people lost what little confidence they originally had in Washington's "trained leadership."

At first the opposition took the form of parliamentary criticism of open political agitation. However, the Quirino government was in no mood to stand for any genuine opposition from the people, although the formality of elections have been continued. Such elec-

The above photograph shows a Hukbong unit moving along a trail in central Luzon, 65 miles north of Manila. At left, wearing sombrero and short jacket is Luis Taruc, leader of the Huks. Weapons shown in picture include an American army carbine, and an old Japanese submachine gun.

tions, though, have resolved themselves into contests between the "ins" and the "outs," both of whom are pledged to carry on the same general policies which have brought the country to its present sorry plight.

The elections held at the end of last year typified the type of democracy which America has brought to the Philippines. On election day large sections of the country were under unofficial martial law with soldiers guarding the polling places. Many opposition candidates were forcibly prevented from addressing meetings prior to the election. On election day squads of police, equipped with machineguns, raided the poorer, working class districts in the cities, thus terrorizing the workers into staying away from the polls.

Realizing the futility of attempting to obtain redress via the ballot box, the peasants and workers, like their counterparts in Malaya, Korea and Indo-China and other colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, have begun to resist in the only effective manner left to them—by force of arms.

Popular Resistance Grows

The war-time Hukbalahap guerilla army has been reorganized as the Hukbong (People's Liberation Army) and resistance has spread throughout the entire country. Quirino, with the help of his American mentors, has reacted by increasing the terror and repression against the people.

By the end of last year the Hukbong was active in many areas. The *Associated Press* reported that 60 percent of the people living in the four central provinces had joined the Huks. Guerilla activities were also reported in six provinces of Luzon Island and in other areas. Since then, the Hukbong has extended its activities to virtually every province.

A review of press dispatches in recent months gives an indication of the extent of Hukbong activity.

On September 22, *UP* reported that two nights previously the Hukbong had raided a town only 10 miles from Manila. On September 25, *AP* reported that a battle was in progress between government troops and Hukbong units in the town of General Trials, some 30 kilometers south of Manila.

On September 26, *UP* quoted National Defense Secretary Ramon Magsaysay as saying that the military situation was growing "more serious" and as estimating Hukbong strength in the central Luzon area alone at more than 40,000. On December 2, the mayor of Manila banned the shooting of firecrackers in the city, declaring that such action might "upset" the people!

Standard Procedure

When a Hukbong detachment raids a provincial town it follows a more or less standard procedure, first attacking and putting out of action the police station. Government storehouses are opened and emptied, reactionary landlords, usurers and other oppressors of the peasants and villagers are dealt with.

As a result of the worsening military situation, the Quirino regime is relying more and more upon repression of the civilian population, thus hoping to intimidate the people to such an extent that they will be afraid to shield and support the Hukbong.

On October 22, Quirino suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* for all persons suspected of aiding or sympathizing with the Hukbong. The government chief of staff is reported working on a mass concentration camp plan for all people *suspected* of being pro-Huk and anti-government. Such suspects would, under the plan, be detained indefinitely.

The results of this increased repression have been quick. The Huks have stepped up the tempo of their activities, while the civilian population is becoming increasingly difficult to control. Desertions to the Huks are becoming more frequent, sometimes involving entire units.

On October 31, *Reuter* reported that the mayor and 26 policemen of the small town of San Luis in Pampagna province had gone over to the Hukbong.

* * *

FACED with the hostility of the population on all sides, unable to cope with the Hukbong and both unwilling and unable to set the country's economy aright and to clean up the government, the Quirino clique is forced to turn increasingly to the United States for help.

The new US aid program has even more strings attached to it than previous grants. First, it is to be supervised by US administrators who will control the purse strings. Second, it sets forth demands for administrative reforms in the Quirino government as a prerequisite.

When these conditions became known to the Manila government, there was a wave of inspired protest and much newspaper talk about how Quirino would insist upon maintaining national sovereignty.

However, after protesting for the record and making all possible assurances that his regime would stand firm, Quirino caved in and accepted Washington's terms, which in the meantime had been sugared a little to deceive the public.

American interests have been urging that the government close its development companies and turn their assets over to "private enterprise." American businessmen in Manila have demanded that recent import controls which, they have pointed out, are a violation of treaty agreement with the US be removed.

The capitulation came even before the US demands had been officially published. On October 18, Quirino indicated that he was prepared to carry out all American instructions.

As to import controls Quirino has declared that they are necessary and will remain. However, he added that he will "shake up" the import control office so that there will be no grounds for further complaints which means, of course, that while the regulations will remain on the books, they will no longer be enforced.

However, it is obvious that none of these measures strike at the root of the Philippines' problem.

The Philippines today are comparable in many ways to the China of three or four years ago. In a recent interview with a Manila newspaperman who made a secret trip to the Huk headquarters in the mountains, Luis Taruc, the almost legendary leader of the Hukbong declared that the time of total liberation of the Filipino people was not far off. The date, he said, could not be set by the Hukbong as it depended upon the people and upon outside factors, upon the speed with which both internal and external events moved. His estimate, however, was that it would take about two years.

— ***P. S. TSENG***

WHO COMMITS THE ATROCITIES?

As the North Koreans pushed south in their original counterattack against the South Korean invasion early last summer they found widespread evidence of mass executions hastily carried out by Syngman Rhee's regime before its flight. Tens of thousands of political prisoners, critics and "suspects" had been rounded up and shot, their bodies dumped in lightly covered trenches.

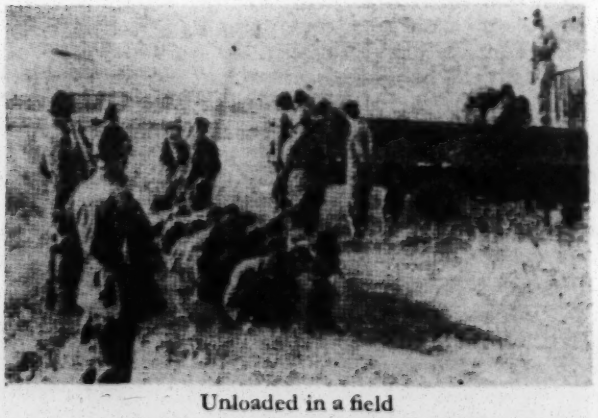
Following the American counter-offensive in the late summer, these same mass graves were exhibited by MacArthur and Rhee as "evidence" of North Korean atrocities. However despite their best efforts to lay the blame for their own crimes at the door of the North Koreans, Rhee and his American masters have not been able to conceal the fact that their re-occupation of a town or village became the signal for wholesale reprisals against the civilian population which had committed the "crime" of living in areas occupied by the North Koreans.

The pictures on this page, reproduced from the New York *Daily Compass*, provide visual evidence of what happened when MacArthur "restored" Syngman Rhee his capital city of Seoul and also give a fair picture of just who is responsible for the atrocities against the Korean civilian population. The pictures were distributed by the *Associated Press*, leading American news agency.

A group of Koreans, executed by South Korean troops, is shown leaving prison on way to execution

Outside the prison walls, the bound prisoners squat on the ground. Two at left are women.

The final ride



Unloaded in a field

The firing squad does its work

The finishing touch

China's First Labor Insurance Law

C. Y. W. MENG

FOR the first time in history Chinese workers are receiving labor insurance. The beginning of 1951 has seen China's first Labor Insurance Law go into effect after years of bitter struggle by the nation's workers. The realization of these measures for the protection of workers has long been a plank in the platform of the Chinese Communist Party.

Thirty years ago, shortly after its formation, the Communist Party began building up the labor movement throughout China. On January 1, 1921, the first labor school was set up in Chengsintien near Peking in an effort to organize and educate the working class. At the Party's first national conference on July 21 of the same year it was decided that promotion of the labor movement should be the central task of the Party. In following years numerous pieces of labor legislation were enforced in China's early liberated areas.

Despite Chiang Kai-shek's repression against the labor movement in KMT China, news got around among the workers of the laws benefiting labor which were being carried out in the Liberated Areas. In Shanghai, the nation's leading industrial city, copies of labor laws in the Liberated Areas were read and passed around by the workers in secret to avoid KMT punishment. There was no doubt that getting rid of the Chiang government, devoted to keeping down the labor movement, and replacing it with a people's government would bring about similar laws.

Capitalist Countries

An analysis of the present law, which covers the entire country, reveals a basically different concept from that underlying social security and labor legislation in the capitalist world. Under capitalism the machine is considered of prime value. As I was told by an old worker in a foreign-owned Shanghai factory, when a boiler exploded and several workers were killed, the first thing the owner asked was how much machinery had been damaged.

With such an outlook, under capitalism the chief purpose of instituting a social insurance system is to appease the working class by granting a minimum amount of benefits, thus enabling the system to continue operating on the basis of exploiting surplus value out of the workers, thereby enriching the capitalists. Such minimum "concessions" also serve to confuse the workers by leading them to believe that the factory owners are concerned with their welfare.

Labor Policy

Under China's new democracy, labor insurance forms the basis of the government's labor policy which, in turn, constitutes a part of the overall economic plan which is to "take care of both public and private interests, benefit both labor and capital, develop production, and build up the economy."

Under capitalism, social insurance costs are paid by the workers themselves through deduction of a part of their wages. Under China's new law, the cost is paid entirely by management which is bound by law to set aside a sum equal to three percent of the total payroll every month. In addition, management will be responsible for medical expenses and wages for workers who are on leave for sickness or childbirth.

According to the new law, 30 percent of the sum paid by management is to go to the All-China Federation of Labor to make up the General Labor Insurance Fund. The remaining 70 percent is to be used as a Labor-Insurance Fund for the ACFL's component trade unions.

The principle of independent accounting also is being adopted in the administration of the fund. In cases where enterprises, whether state or jointly owned, fail to pay their due amount, the basic committees of the union can notify the government bank to deduct the sum from their deposits. For private enterprises, such neglect will be reported to the labor administration department of the people's government.

In capitalist countries, although the workers have to contribute to the cost of labor insurance, it is the management which controls these funds. For example, according to *The Economic Review* of Shanghai, November 16, 1950, from 1939-46 the funds collected for workers' old age insurance in America amounted to US$4,300,000,000. However, during the same period only US$800,000,000 was paid out. How was the rest used, and who received the accumulated interest?

In China the complete operation of labor insurance is taken care of by the workers themselves. Funds are under the control of, and are appropriated by, the workers. Executive power belongs to the different industrial trade unions while supplementary power is vested in the labor department of the government.

Article 24 of the Labor Insurance Law provides that the labor insurance board of the basic committee of the union shall form the main unit for carrying out the law, such as supervision of the collection of funds and decisions on payments.

China's first labor insurance act is applicable to all workers without regard to nationality, age or sex in both state and private and joint owned factories and mines which employ more than 100 workers. These enterprises include railways, transport, posts and telecommunications, and banks. In organizations employing less than 100 workers the terms of labor insurance are to be decided on by collective agreements between labor and management.

Provisions of Law

Some of the important provisions stipulated in the Labor Insurance Law may be summed up as follows:—

1) Medical expenses for both occupational and non-occupational injuries or illness of manual and non-manual workers are borne by the management. Those who suffer occupational injuries are entitled to receive full pay during treatment, and those who suffer from non-occupational injuries or illness will receive between 50 to 100 percent of their wages for three months. After that period they will receive sickness benefits, varying between 20 to 30 percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund.

2) Workers who become disabled as a result of their occupa-

tion are entitled to receive from the labor insurance fund, disability pensions of between 55 to 70 percent of their wages in case of full disability, and five to 20 percent in case of partial disability. In case of full disability due to non-occupational reasons, disability pensions range from 20 to 30 percent of the wages of the disabled.

3) Retirement pensions of 35 to 60 percent of wages are paid from the labor insurance fund to male workers over 60 and women workers over 50 when they retire. Qualifications are that men must have been workers for 25 years with 10 years' service in the enterprise from which they retire. In the case of women workers, the qualifying periods are 20 years and 10 years, respectively. If they continue working after retirement age, they are entitled to receive old age benefits of 10 to 20 percent of their wages.

4) In the case of underground miners and workers in chemical or munitions industries or engaged in dangerous occupations, or workers who work under temperature lower than 32 degrees Fahrenheit or higher than 100 degrees Fahrenheit, retirement age qualifications are reduced to 55 years for men workers and 45 for women workers.

5) Along with other steps in the emancipation of China's women, the new law also enables all women workers, manual or non-manual, to receive 56 days of leave with pay for childbirth. In addition, they will receive maternity benefits from the labor insurance fund.

6) Funeral expenses for workers whose death is attributable to their occupation are to be borne by the management to the amount of two months' average wage. Dependents are entitled to receive pensions from between 25-50 percent of the deceased's wages from the labor insurance fund until they become independent. Funeral expenses of other workers are to be subsidized by the labor insurance fund up to the amount of one month's average wage. Dependents are entitled to receive a pension of up to 12 months' wages from the labor insurance fund.

7) Other parts of the labor insurance fund are to be used for the construction of sanatoria, rest homes, orphanages, and homes for the aged and disabled.

Northeast Leads the Way

As in other aspects of the new China, the Northeast, the nation's longest liberated industrial area, provides a clear-cut example of how the working class has been benefited. The pioneer in enforcing large-scale labor insurance, the Northeast saw this workers' benefit begin in seven state-operated enterprises in April 1949. This was swiftly extended to other enterprises and by October about 630,000 workers, affecting 1,500,000 household members, were under the provisions of the labor insurance fund.

Rebuilding *by Hsin I*

The state appropriated a total of 16,000,000 *fen* (one *fen* being equivalent to the value of three catties of *kaoliang* in the Northeast) for assisting the workers. Labor insurance funds which were collected in this period amounted to 6,269,368 *fen*, while payment amounted to 4,084,462 *fen* by the end of October.

At present the Northeast has 62 sanatoria for workers in active employment or on vacation, 10 homes for old people and the disabled, 54 nurseries, 20 maternity clinics, 67 hospitals with 6,000 beds, and 563 medical clinics with a total staff of 1,400 to look after the health of the workers.

Most of the big factories and mines have established clubs and reading rooms for workers and, according to incomplete statistics, there are 3,874 night schools for workers with 300,000 in attendance.

With the application of labor insurance in the Northeast, living conditions of the workers have been stabilized and this has resulted in a heightened enthusiasm for their work. Both productivity of the workers and output have been increasing. Production efficiency for the first half of the year rose by 251.8 percent compared to the corresponding period in 1949. The total value of production for the same period witnessed a jump of 131.1 percent.

By July of this year China had a total of 12,850,000 workers. There is no doubt that it is a large task to look after the health and living conditions of nearly 13,000,000 people, not to mention the millions making up their immediate families. However, it is most significant that despite present difficulties the Central People's Government has already started the system of labor insurance on a nation-wide scale.

The present government policy of "benefiting both labor and capital and promoting production" has been correct, as the recent past has shown.

In addition, the enforcement of such a law signifies that under the new democratic people's government of China the state has begun to assume the responsibility for caring for the health and prosperity of the people. As explicitly stated in the first article of the law, the purpose is to protect the health of the workers and to minimize their difficulties under the present state of the nation's economy.

A Visit to Nan Chuang Yuan

Lin Feng

"IT'S a small thing, of course," said the head of the women's federation, "but I still remember how in the old days we women would never even think of walking ahead of a group of our menfolk. But why waste time thinking of those days. There's much to be done. We must work hard for the future. This nursery here is the first we've ever had in the village. We're only beginning. Perhaps, in a year or two, we'll have a nursery that's open from January to December."

For the peasant women the nursery has been an innovation and an eye-opener, one which they have received enthusiastically. The local women's federation set it up when harvest began, so that mothers could leave their children between the ages of six months and six years there from early morning till sunset. It is, in fact, one of the signs of increasing prosperity in the village.

Not the only sign, however. In some ways, perhaps, Nan Chuang Yuan is privileged over most other villages. Only a few miles from Peking, it can take advantage of city facilities. There is even a co-operative-run dairy nearby, which provides the children in the nursery with free milk. Besides, the land is rich, well-suited to rice growing, not like the drier soil to the north where peanuts are the main crop.

But in other respects the village's prosperity is the prosperity of all the villages of the Hopei plain. Nan Chuang Yuan, like the others, is harvesting the fruits of land reform. The harvest is good.

These few weeks every villager is out in the fields. Men and women—women too were allocated land during the land reform movement—children and old folk. Schools have been closed so that the children can help, a regular practice in spring and autumn. The children attend school during the slack seasons of winter and summer. In winter everyone studies. Illiterate fathers and mothers learn characters to master household accounts.

* * *

NOW, however, the harvest is in the foreground. Crops are bigger than ever before. Where once they got one picul, or two per *mou* at most, the peasants will tell you, now they're getting two to two and a half piculs of rice. Maybe, in some cases, more than that. If you ask them why the yield has risen so much, they'll give you many reasons.

First and foremost is their high morale. The land this year belongs to them. So does the harvest. But that is not the whole story. After land reform was completed in this village last winter—and you can still see notices pasted on the walls listing each peasant's name, whether poor, middle or rich peasant, or hired worker, with the amount of land, implements and grain he's been allocated—a supply and marketing co-op advanced loans to the peasants to buy fertilizer and seeds. This made a world of difference, cutting out the need to seek loans at usurious rates of interest. Mutual Aid Teams also contributed to the success, making the best use of the village's labor and implements.

* * *

SO much bigger was the harvest this year, and so needed was every hand in the fields, that a "harvest nursery" was almost a necessity. For with all the village women out in the fields bringing in the sheaves of rice, who could look after the children? Without a nursery, there would be fewer hands in the fields. The women's federation, however, had a way out. Through the city women's federation it brought 10 young women nursery workers out from the city to look after the children.

Two rooms were found in a once-abandoned temple, which now houses the village government, the co-op store and the headquarters of the Peasants' Association. One of these two rooms was put aside during the day for the very young babies who spend most of their nursery hours sleeping. At night the room serves as sleeping quarters for the workers. The other room was fixed up as a play room, with very simple furnishings. There are two play pens, carpeted with rice straw so that the children won't catch cold, and a few wooden toys. The children spend much of their time in the sunny courtyard outside, playing together under the supervision of the nursery workers, and learning new songs and games.

* * *

IN the late afternoon their mothers stop by to pick them up and take them home. They have done hours of valuable work, while in the old days they would have been tied to their children just when the crops the family had grown needed them most.

The arrangement has another convenience too. As she takes the child back with her the mother can stop at the co-op store to buy the flour for her household, or soya bean sauce, salt, cotton padding for winter clothes, or whatever she needs.

Prices are a little lower than on the market. Most of the families have taken out membership. And the women buy with cash. That, too, is prosperity for them. In the old days, before the crops had been harvested and sold, were there ever so many peasants with cash on hand?

Homeward Winds the Lowing Herd *by I Chih*

Philatelic Stamps in New China

People's Postoffice promotes stamp collecting by issuing commemorative stamps in low denominations. Stamps seen as medium of education.

PHILATELY long has been regarded as something of a pastime and mainly belonging to the leisure class. Many people made a business of it. However, in new China philately will be indulged in by anybody who is interested, rich or poor.

In the old days stamps were a means of expressing postal taxes but in the future they will be regarded as a medium of publicity, information and propagation of culture, construction, history, peace and cooperation. As seen by the policy of the people's postoffice, philately is now not only favored but it is being encouraged. Numerous commemorative stamps have been issued in different liberated areas while the postoffice itself is paying great attention to its philatelic business.

Viewed from the new conception of stamps, it is interesting to note the difference between the stamp designs of socialist and new democratic countries and that of the capitalist countries. The latter rarely allow living persons to make up their designs for fear of personal influence on the public. However, in the case of the former most stamp designs contain the images of prominent contemporaries. Most of the capitalist countries issue commemorative stamps in order to make profit, especially those small nations which every year put out so many series of fine, multi-colored and highly valued stamps so as to net a sizable revenue.

The people's postoffice is planning to put out a large number of comparatively low priced commemorative stamps in the future. Simultaneously it will take into consideration colors and material for the purpose of wide circulation. The People's Bank has helped in exporting Chinese stamps to foreign countries from Tientsin and Shanghai.

For the convenience of stamp collectors each head postoffice now has a philatelic division which sells philatelic stamps, and the Postal Ministry contains a department which takes charge of all administrative work. It has world-wide connections with all philatelic publishers, traders, collectors, and philatelic scholars. Often when new series have been issued they will receive samples. However, exchange of stamps is not accepted, and the sale is made at the head office of the People's Postoffice in Peking.

Because the postal service in the different regions throughout China printed and issued their own stamps before the liberation of the entire mainland, commemorative issues are quite plentiful. Hence there are a great many varieties of stamps in the Liberated Areas [for detailed information of the people's postal service since 1937 see the author's article in the *China Weekly Review* of August 5, 1950—Editor].

	Commemorative Event	Issue Date	Value
1.	PPC Conference	1949	30, 50, 100, 200 JMP
2.	Asian and Australasian Countries Conference	1949	100, 300, 500 JMP
3.	Establishment of People's Republic of China	1950	800, 1000, 2000, 3000 JMP
4.	Defense of World Peace	1950	400, 800, 2000 JMP
5.	Victory of Resistance War	1946	1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 20 JMP
6.	28th Anniversary of Communist Party	1949	10, 20, 50, 80, 100, 120, 140 JMP
7.	Victory over Japan	1945	1, 5, 10, 20 JMP
8.	Battle of Hwai-Hai	1949	1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 13, 18, 21, 30, 50; 100 JMP
9.	Liberation of Nanking and Shanghai	1949	1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 30, 50, 100, 500 JMP
10.	Establishment of East China Posts	1949	1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 13, 18, 21, 30, 50 JMP
11.	22nd Anniversary of PLA	1949	70, 270, 370, 570 JMP
12.	Liberation of Wuchang and Hankow	1949	70, 220, 290, 370, 500, 1000 JMP
13.	Liberation of Canton	1949	10, 20, 30, 50, 100 JMP
14.	Liberation of Southwest	1949	20, 30, 50, 100 JMP
15.	Double 12th	1946	1, 2, 5, 10 TPP
16.	24th Anniversary of February 7th	1947	1, 2, 5, 10 TPP
17.	Children's Day (April 4)	1947	5, 10, 30 TPP
18.	Labor Day	1947	10, 30, 50 TPP
19.	22nd Anniversary of May 30	1947	2, 5, 10, 20, 30, 50, 100 TPP
20.	26th Anniversary of Communist Party	1947	10, 30, 50, 100 TPP
21.	10th Anniversary of July 7th Incident	1947	10, 30, 50, 100 TPP
22.	Liberation of Northeast	1947	10, 30, 50, 100 TPP
23.	18th September Incident	1947	10, 20, 30, 50 TPP
24.	35th Anniversary of Double 10th	1947	10, 20, 100 TPP
25.	11th Anniversary of Sian Incident	1947	30, 90, 150 TPP
26.	2nd Anniversary of Assassination of General Li Chia-lin	1948	30, 150 TPP
27.	Youth Day	1948	50, 150, 250 TPP
28.	Liberation of Northeast	1948	500, 1500, 2500 TPP

The earliest issue of commemorative stamps was made in 1945 in commemoration of the victory over Japan. The earliest issue of ordinary stamps in the Liberated Areas was made in the Shansi-Shantung-Hopeh-Honan District in 1942. The majority of the Liberated Areas commemorative stamps were issued in 1948 and 1949 when a great many history-making events took place with the collapse of the KMT in face of the victorious PLA.

Today the issue of stamps is under the unified control of the Postal Ministry.

The list of the commemorative stamps issued by the postoffice is shown in the accompanying table.

The latest issues of commemorative stamps are as follows:

1) Stamp commemorating the establishof the People's Republic of China issued on October 1, 1949. Design: Chairman Mao Tse-tung's portrait over the Tien An Men with a five-star flag in the background.

2) Stamp commemorating the defense of world peace issued on August 1, 1950. Design: a dove occupying two-thirds of the space; upper inscription "Defend World Peace."

3) Stamp commemorating the first anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China issued on October 1, 1950. Design: national flag with the inscription "In commemoration of the People's Republic of China."

4) Stamp commemorating the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance issued December 1, 1950. Design: Chairman Mao Tse-tung with the Tien An Men in the background, shaking hands with Generalissimo Stalin against a background of the Kremlin.

— *DUNCAN C. LEE*

Fukien's Year of Progress

Chen Fu-sheng

TWO of the greatest achievements of the people of Fukien during the past year have been the tremendous development of communications and the increase in agricultural production. Liberated later than many other areas of China and affected by the KMT naval blockade and aerial bombing more severely than many other regions, the progress of the past year is a monument to the hard work of the Fukien people and their new government.

Restoration of old roads and surveying of new highways has been carried out in nearly all sections of the province during the past 12 months.

Repairs to the highways connecting Kienyang (north Fukien) and Kiangshan (Chekiang province) have been completed as has restoration work on the roads between Sunghsu (south Fukien) and Juichin (Kiangsi province). In north and east Fukien repairs are nearing completion on the Fengshuikwan-Nanping, Foochow-Kienou, Foochow-Amoy and Foochow-Mamoi highways, which together total more than 1,000 kilometers.

Many of these roads were in such bad shape that the repair work came close to total reconstruction. The majority were hastily built during the war against Japan and, in many cases, no repairs had been made during the entire post-war period. Bridges were of a makeshift variety, the road beds were too narrow and the surfacing was so poor that they were impassable during the rainy season.

Repair work has consisted of building permanent bridges, widening the road beds, improving the quality of the surfacing and the constructing of retaining walls in order to make these vital arteries all-weather highways.

Among the more important of the projected highways are the Changchow-Swatow, Kienyang-Kuangtze (Kiangsi province), Foochow-Wenchow (Kwangtung province), Chuanchow-Yungan and Nanping-Shanghang lines. Actual surveying has been completed on more than 1,000 kilometers and work is going ahead rapidly.

Completion of the new highways and the restoration of the old roads will give this extremely mountainous and economically undeveloped region a satisfactory communication network for the first time in its history. The economic, political and cultural benefits are readily imaginable in this province where isolation of communities has always been taken for granted and where many different dialects are spoken.

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THE food picture for this past year is considered quite good. According to latest official figures total production of rice and subsidiary crops for 1950 came to 5,600,000,000 *catties* (approximately 5,080,000,000 lbs.), representing an increase of roughly 10 percent over last year's output.

There were many reasons for this substantial increase. Briefly, they may be described as stemming from government help to the farmers and from increased efforts on the part of the farmers themselves.

Under government guidance and assistance, for instance, irrigation works were repaired and expanded in many areas. Incomplete figures list more than 1,000 main canals, plus many dikes and other projects as having been completed or partially completed during the year. In addition, the government helped the farmers to obtain low-interest loans in sufficient time for purchasing seed, implements, etc.

Meanwhile, the farmers have organized themselves for many campaigns such as the accumulation of an adequate supply of fertilizer, anti-insect work, inoculation of livestock, etc.

With this year's harvest stored away, Fukien's farmers, meeting in Foochow last month at the All-Province Agricultural Production Conference, agreed to increase production still further next year. Overall grain production is set at 5,900,000,000 *catties* or five percent higher than this year. In addition, it was agreed to aim at restoring tea and sugar production to the pre-Japanese War level and to increase the output of peanuts and hemp.

Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang

The Dove of Peace

A New Folk Opera and a New Ballet

Reviewed by Max Bickerton

IN the last month or two, many new plays have been performed in Peking, but among them I found two of outstanding interest: a folk opera, "Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang" and a full-scale ballet, "The Dove of Peace."

By coincidence, the producers of these two happened to be father and son, the ballet being produced by the 62-year old dramatist, Ouyang Yu-ch'ien with the students of the Dance Section of the Central School of Dramatic Art, and the opera by his son, Ouyang Shan-t'sun with students of the Peking Art and Drama School.

The opera played to full houses at the Peking Theater for a month, while the ballet, after being scheduled for 11 performances at the Youth Palace, had to be put on again for another 18 days at the Peking Theater in response to popular demand.

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New Folk Opera

THE libretto of "Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang" is taken from a long poem by Li Chi. The poem was originally published in the Yenan *Chieh-fang Jih Pao* in 1946.

The story is a simple one of love and revolution and takes place in 1935, in a small north Shensi village—a White hold-out in the midst of Red territory. Wang Kuei is a young peasant, who, five years previously, had been taken off by the landlord, T'sui Erh-yeh, to work as a farm laborer after his father had been beaten to death by the landlord's "kou-t'ui" (dog's leg), or bailiff for failing to pay his rent in a famine year.

Wang Kuei is befriended by a neighbor, an old widower, Li Te-jui, with one daughter, Hsiang hsiang. The two young people grow up together and fall in love but Hsiang-hsiang's beauty has already attracted the lecherous old landlord who wants her as a concubine. Wang Kuei has secretly joined the guerillas, and when this is discovered by the landlord, he beats him almost to death in front of the assembled village.

Hsiang-hsiang, in horror, runs off to tell the guerillas, and they come and liberate the village. The landlord and his "kou-t'ui" escape, but his property is divided up among the peasants and Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang are married.

Unfortunately KMT forces retake the village. They cannot find Wang Kuei, but they arrest Li Te-jui, start a reign of terror in the village, and carry off Hsiang-hsiang to the landlord's house.

On the night of her "wedding" to the landlord, he and the KMT officers are in the midst of a drunken carousel when the sentry announces that the guerillas are again attacking the village. Before the landlord can escape, the guerillas, with Wang Kuei to the fore, burst into the room. The landlord and his "kou-t'ui" are bound, Hsiang-hsiang is brought in in her bridal gown and a dagger drops from her waist, indicating that she had not planned to submit. She and Wang Kuei are reunited and to crown their happiness, her father re-appears.

Critics' Praise

When it was first published, the poem created a tremendous sensation. Eulogies by eight critics, including the poet Ai Ch'ing have since been collected in a volume.

The poem fulfills completely Mao Tse-tung's injunctions to writers not to try to bring the old culture down to the masses, but to go and live among the masses, study their folk art and folk lore and folk literature, the "raw ore," the "fountain head" of the new culture and raise the level of that.

Although Li Chi was not a professional poet, but a cadre doing political work in the villages of north Shensi, he lived so close to the people that he absorbed completely the spirit of their folk poetry, and used the meter of the popular short poems called "Shun T'ien Yu" in his long poem of almost 800 lines. This meter is extremely free, consisting of rhymed couplets varying in length from six to 16 syllables. In Li Chi's verse very often the first line of the couplet contains the poetic image or metaphor while the second carries forward the narrative. He brings in many familiar lines from folk verses, but in scope, ideas and characterization his poem goes far beyond any of the traditional poems.

The connection between poetry and singing has always been so close in China that it was quite natural to think of turning the poem into an opera. Already last year it had been made into a Shao-hsing opera.

Follows Original Poem

The opera keeps very close to the original poem, with some minor exceptions. For example, for the sake of dramatic effect the wedding is put right at the end, after the second liberation. This gives a good finale as the marriage feast prepared by the landlord is turned into a marriage feast for Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang and the hungry guerillas.

Another point which the producer makes is that since the opera was put on especially to celebrate National Day, he tried to tone down some of the horror and misery, which reached its limits in such villages which changed hands again and again in the course of the civil war.

In the opera, therefore, the whole of the first part, describing the murder of Wang Kuei's father, is made into a prologue, the actors miming the action behind a gauze curtain, and the soloists and chorus

off stage, to give the effect that this is past history, that now the revolution has been successful all over China such things no longer happen.

The music for the opera is based very largely on Shensi folk tunes, arranged by Liang Han-kuang, who also conducts the orchestra. Both Western and Chinese instruments are used.

As to the singing, Ouyang says that he tried to preserve the flavor of folk-singing while not neglecting modern scientific methods of voice production. His first insistence was that the words should be clearly sung, and he certainly succeeded in this for it was easy to follow the story from the singing. His task was made easier by the fact that in his school were two groups of students; one with considerable experience in singing in folk operas in the old Liberated Areas, and another group with considerable technical voice training, and the two groups were able to help one another.

The parts of Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang were taken on different nights by three different pairs of singers. The first time I saw the opera, both were admirably cast, acting and singing with all the vigor of young peasants, but the second Wang Kuei I saw was very weak, both in voice and acting. The settings were simple but effective, and altogether it was a performance of great interest.

* * *

The Dove of Peace

THIS ballet's got simply everything in it. It is eclectic in the widest sense of the term. From peace doves in tutus, workers, combat heroes, Young Pioneers, dockers, peasants and national minorities, down to warmongers, GI's, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, Bao Dai, Quirino, and a horrible spider-like personification of the atom bomb: from classical dancing en pointes, Kurt Jooss style mime, blues and jitterbugs to *yang-ko* and Korean dancing: from Western music to Chinese folk tunes.

And I do not say this in a derogatory sense. It is an event of signal promise that, in a country without any ballet tradition, so interesting a performance could have been put on in the space of 50 days.

As Ouyang Yu-ch'ien says in his program note, it was only possible because of the magnificent teamwork of the whole company, all accepting and giving criticism, and all imbued with a very high degree of political consciousness.

In the West there have been very few ballets with a political theme. The English school has often used biblical and didactic ones ("Job" and "The Rake's Progress"), but never, as far as I know a political one. The New York Ballet School, when I saw it during its London season in 1946, seemed most intent on using their limbs to unravel Freudian complexes ("Pillar of Fire," etc.) Even in the Soviet Union, for many years the only successful ballet with a revolutionary theme was "The Red Poppy" — strangely enough taking its theme from the Chinese Revolution.

Jooss Influence

Europe has, however, produced at least one great political ballet, and that is Kurt Jooss' "Green Table," that marvelously prophetic and bitter satire on the futility of imperialist "peace" conferences. It is 15 years since I saw it in London but I still clearly recall that first scene with the diplomats in stuffed shirts and sinister masks seated around the long green baize conference table and coming to no agreement; then the horrible scenes of carnage of a second world war, ending in another "peace" conference, and then, just as the diplomats had again reached a stalemate, the sudden drop of the curtain.

Tai Ai-lien, the chief choreographer of "The Dove of Peace," studied at the Jooss school at Dartington Hall, and I think I am not wrong in detecting its influence in some of the best scenes of this new ballet.

"The Dove of Peace" is definitely political in content, and Ouyang Yu-ch'ien in his script has created a simple but telling allegory of the triumph of the united peace-loving peoples over the warmongers, and woven into it the biblical symbol of the dove of peace which has reached China via Picasso and the Stockholm Peace Appeal and become popularized through posters and postage stamps.

The ballet is in seven scenes, and I shall only attempt a very brief outline of the story. Near the beginning, a crowd of dejected people troop across the stage and examine the crosses and twisted swastikas in a war cemetery. Two doves (Tai Ai-lien and Yang Fan) appear and give the people courage and hope. This enrages the warmonger, who is lurking behind a gateway, and he gives his bodyguard orders to fire on the doves. One dove is wounded, the other escapes.

The warmonger leaves the wounded dove for dead, but she is found by a young worker (Ting Ning) who takes her off to his home and tends her wounds. When she has recovered, the young worker takes her wing out of the sling and teaches her to fly again. The other doves come and discover their leader and thank the worker for his care.

Later, a group of children notice the doves flying overhead, and start to draw them. Enter the warmonger with two hounds which he sets on to the children, but then beats a hasty retreat when the indignant masses appear. The young worker tells the masses that they must unite to be strong, and when he has organized them, the doves reappear and the whole company do a Grand March round the stage.

The dream sequence which soon follows is much the most impressive scene in the whole ballet. Both the setting and the miming is in the best Jooss tradition. It is a real danse macabre. The warmonger, seated on his throne, surrounded by a trellis of $ signs and great Leaning Tower of Pisa-ish piles of gold dollars, is worried by news of defeats. He drops off to sleep and dreams of Asia-as-he-would-like-it.

At a grand reception, all the scoundrels of Asia, from Chiang Kai-shek downward come and pay him tribute, while he in return tosses them some bags of gold. Cocktails are served, the warmonger's lady leads off a blues with Chiang and a spirit of carnival reigns.

Just at the climax, the warmonger is rudely awakened from his dream by the entrance of the organized masses who march with banners across the back of the stage. His dream vassals have vanished and he is left friendless and afraid.

Two dancers stood out in the scene for the excellence of their miming. One was Chao Yun-ko as the warmonger, with his goatee beard and long tapering fingers; the other was Lu Chih-lin as Chiang Kai-shek, with a skull-like cranium stuck on to stuffed epauletted shoulders.

The final scene, entitled "The Dove of Peace Comes to Peking," is more in the nature of a grand finale to a Christmas pantomine than ballet. Before the Gate of Heavenly Peace, soldiers, sailors, airmen, workers, national minorities, etc. sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal with giant bayonet-like pens in giant books held out to them by Young Pioneers. The doves fly down and amidst general rejoicing, a great portrait of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung is hoisted up.

This is the main theme, but Scene 5 contains a secondary theme of dockers refusing to load munitions on a ship bound for Korea. It has a good decor and contains some of the best choreographic grouping, but I thought it rather broke the unity of the script by introducing a completely new set of characters.

Three artists, Liu Lu, Chang Yao and Hung Cheng-lung, were responsible for the decors which were all first-rate. Avoiding a messy naturalism, the backcloths were in bold impressionistic style, done in clean primary colors.

Composing the Music

In the composition of the music, the time factor must have worked most adversely. The conductor, Chang Yen, who is also one of the composers, explains in his program note that, in order to get it written in time, they had to farm out the seven scenes to eight composers, and that, in order to keep some unity, decide on a single theme to be repeated throughout the ballet.

Most of these composers had never composed for ballet before. They worked closely with the six choreographers, and the result, although naturally nowhere approaching the level of Tchaikovsky or Prokofiev, at least did not clash with the dancing. The orchestra had 60 members including 16 playing Chinese instruments.

The greatest mistake in the whole production, both politically and artistically, in my opinion, was to have a girl come before the curtain before the story began and again after the interval, and read the moral from a big book. The choreographers and artists had actually made the whole political message crystal clear; in addition there was an excellent printed program with detailed notes. Why then drag in the spoken word?

* * *

I HAVE put off any comment on the actual dancing till the end because it is a delicate point. Speaking bluntly, I would like to say that ballet dancers, and especially classical ballet dancers are not mushrooms; they do not grow up overnight. Just like the actors in Peking opera, they must start when they are young and undergo long years of rigid discipline before they can master their art. Therefore, when this school has been going for less than a year, I think it was a mistake to attempt classical dancing.

Tai Ai-lien herself would not claim to be a premiere danseuse, but she has had sufficient classical training to give a satisfactory performance. Alas, the same cannot be said of the 10 little dovelets who form her corps de ballet. They have not yet learned to fly, or even to get up on their toes. Her partner, Ting Ning, is a young man of extraordinary agility and grace but he too has not been trained in the elementary steps of the classical male dancer.

There is no reason why, with training, young Chinese boys and girls should not become good classical dancers. I was struck with the wonderful natural sense of rhythm of this company, and their beautifully proportioned bodies—in such striking contrast to the so-called ballet I used to see in Japan.

I saw "The Dove of Peace" twice with an interval of a month in between. Although the production had been polished up the second time, still I was more than acutely conscious of the raggedness of the dancing, perhaps because the previous night I had happened to see a superb performance of the "reformed" Peking opera "Chiang Hsiang He" with fine acrobatic dancing in the battle scene.

Seeing these two productions so close together made me wonder whether the ballet school could not draw on the acrobatic technique of the Peking opera, a tradition still alive and with many skilled exponents at hand. I can imagine a very effective political ballet, using the *Ching-hsi* technique and modern music and costumes.

People of

The Vietnam Republic, now i closer to victory in its battle to drive who have for so long sucked the cou weapon in the struggle is the Vietn growing in strength with each pa small guerilla force, the VPA is n lines and armed with modern weapo French and some made in jungle the basis of the VPA's strength is

A VPA unit being welcomed by liberated Vie

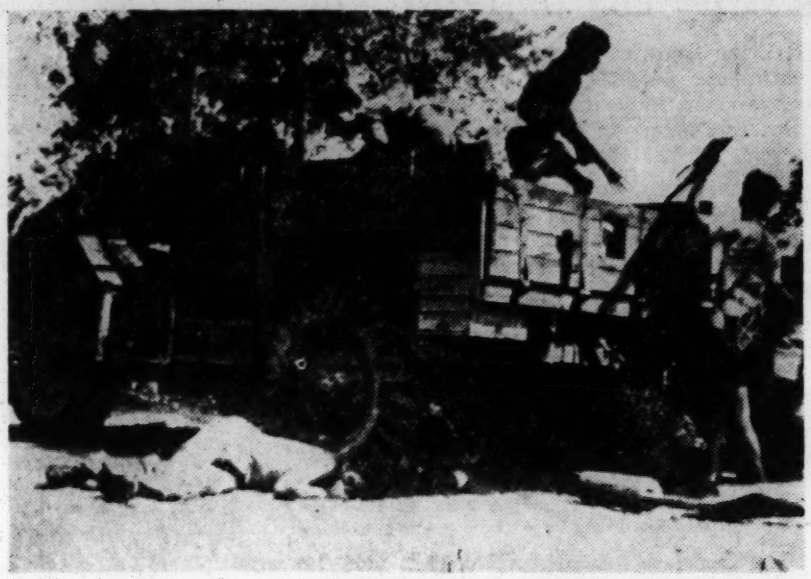
Transporting arms

# of Vietnam Fight for Freedom

, now in its sixth year, is moving to drive out the French colonialists the country and people dry. Chief he Vietnam People's Army which is each passing month. Originally a PA is now organized on divisional rn weapons—some captured from the jungle arsenals. A people's army, ength is popular support.

med by the people of a village in erated Vietnam.

ing arms to the front.



Men of the Vietnam People's Army unloading arms and other supplies from a truck captured from French forces when VPA troops wiped out a French column. The body of a French soldier is seen lying beside the truck.

Even bicycles are pressed into use by the people to move supplies through the fields and across the mountains to their fighting men. These Vietnam boys are carrying rice to the front.

CHINA NOTES

Resisting US Imperialism

AMONG the countless concrete manifestations of the Chinese people's support of the drive to "resist American imperialism and aid Korea" was the recent conference of the Shanghai People's Representatives of All Circles.

One of the keynotes of this meeting was a report made by Liu Chang-sheng which dealt with a summing up of American aggression in China for the past 100 years. In the course of his speech Liu pointed out that if all the democratic forces for peace can be united and enlarged the danger of war can be checked. He then listed four points which would act against America should she unleash a war:

1) America's front line would have to extend from Western Europe to East Asia which is longer than that of Hitler's or Japan's, and she will be exposed to attacks from the front as well as from the rear.

2) The morale of American troops is very low because of the fundamental contradiction between the aims of aggression and the very interests of the soldiers themselves. In addition, the men lack practical experience in war and are of poor fighting ability.

3) The accomplices of the US are not strong. Western Germany and Japan have not been armed yet. Britain, France and Italy are no longer military powers. Therefore, US imperialism is not even comparable with Hitler Germany.

4) Even if there is a certain degree of superiority in US resources, this will be offset or considerably affected by the circumstances already mentioned. Furthermore, such superiority will be completely lost when Western Europe is defeated. As to the atomic bomb, it is now no longer exclusively possessed by the US. Besides, it cannot have a decisive effect on the outcome of a war.

In the course of his speech Liu dealt with the large-scale development of the present movement to resist American imperialism. All sections of society, in factory and school, have joined in unfolding the present campaign which has swept across China in the same tradition as early movements in China against imperialism.

Referring to the need to enlarge the movement in Shanghai, Liu stated: "All of these activities contribute to acquaint the masses with the true colors of American imperialism, thus setting up a mass foundation for this movement. But due to the fact that the people in Shanghai have long been victims of imperialism, particularly political and economic oppression of US imperialism, and the fact that the US imperialists have utilized religion, schools, charity societies, broadcasts and movies to carry out cultural aggression, there persist among a section of the populace certain misconceptions concerning US imperialism. . . . In order to overcome the existing setbacks of the movement as well as to strengthen and consolidate it, it will be necessary to promote and popularize the movement on its present foundations, so that it may have better organization and planning and the 5,000,000 people of Shanghai will be able to exert their best in developing this patriotic movement. . . ."

Christians Reply to Austin

CHINESE Christian circles issued a strong protest to the UN over US delegate Warren Austin's speech of November 28 before the Security Council. Protesting against Austin's distortion of the "benefits" of American cultural activities in China, 20,000 Peking Christians voiced their opinion:

"We, 20,000 teachers, personnel and students of Peking's various missions, Christian bodies, missionary educational institutions and hospitals, and American returned students protest with great indignation against the shameless slanders made against the Chinese people by the American delegate, Wall Street's spokesman and warmonger Warren Austin to the Security Council on November 28.

Warren Austin

"We protest against the American methods of using churches, schools and hospitals to carry out cultural aggression. We denounce the US for extorting enormous indemnities from us and then, in fake generosity handing back a tiny fraction as capital to extend their cultural invasion and propagate their poisonous 'American way of life.'

"In answer to Austin, we shall join with all our strength the movement to resist America and help Korea and we shall certainly liberate our territory—Taiwan province. Lastly, we call on peace-loving people everywhere, including America, to deal a mortal blow to American imperialist aggression."

On December 14, the Peking *People's Daily*, referring to Austin's speech, stated: "What idiocy, what audacity, what over-estimation of one's strength. Austin dares to parade American cultural 'investments' to curry favor, to engage in provocation—at a time when Chinese students have radically and swiftly improved their understanding . . . "

The paper went on to denounce the setting up of schools in China by America as "open aggressive cultural concessions, educational factories for

American merchants," and an indispensable concomitant of the military and economic aggression of America.

Notes From Taiwan

A NEW low point even for the phoney "Chinese government" propped up by the US on Taiwan, was reached when an official KMT spokesman revealed that Chiang's "government" had no objection to America using the atom bomb against the mainland.

In answer to a question regarding the use of the A-bomb against China on December 1, Shen Chang-huan, government spokesman, expressed the opinion that "China" as an anti-Communist nation would endorse any action to destroy the "Communist tyranny." As a pious after thought, Shen went on to hope that "this most fearful and destructive weapon would be the last thing used."

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AMERICA'S economic strangle-hold on Chiang's "island empire" has been tightened following the recent visit to Taiwan of ECA administrator William C. Foster. Keen interest by Foster in the KMT project of boosting copper supplies was reported and plans are under way for monthly output to be increased from 50 tons to 400 tons.

This project is being studied by "American experts" and it is understood that once it is carried out the US will have priority to purchase the copper after local demands are satisfied.

* * *

HIGH ranking military officials have been executed in Taiwan on charges of being "Communist spies." One recent batch included two major-generals, one colonel, and three junior officers.

The two generals were heads of the Army's Legal Bureau and the Economic Department of the 11th Pacification Zone. The colonel was the Deputy Adjutant-General of General Sun Li-jen's army headquarters. The three junior officers were from the Political Department of the Ministry of Defense and the Navy.

The KMT on Taiwan continues to unearth "spies" in high positions. Two big spy rings, involving hundreds, have been "smashed" during 1950. Included were the vice-chief of staff of the Army; the director of Military Law at KMT Army Headquarters, a former editor of the Nanking *Ta Kung Pao;* a clerk in the supply section of KMT Naval Headquarters; and the chief of the General Affairs department of the Foreign Office.

Although exact figures for the past year are not available, during October and November alone about 80 people were executed.

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A REPETITION of the old KMT "squeeze" is on in Taiwan. According to the KMT Finance Commissioner, the recent 700 percent increase in private car taxes was aimed at "helping the current austerity movement and stabilizing commodity prices...." Under the commissioner's somewhat nebulous reasoning, commodity prices would be stabilized because people with private cars would be forced to scrape and squeeze to meet their tax, thus reducing the amount of money available for purchasing goods.

The joker in this old KMT deal is that only private cars are affected and anyone who saw Chiang's regime when it was in China knows that for a small amount a "private" car can fast become an "official" car.

Water Conservancy Plan

NEARLY 200 of China's top experts in the field of water engineering have drawn up plans to end the flood menace in China for good. New overall plans have been made to provide abundant power for factories and to carry water to enrich farmland areas on a gigantic scale at a recent Peking meeting.

The conference decided that the main direction of China's huge water conservancy plan in 1951 should be towards solving the most urgent problems at their source. This will be possible btcause most of the main dike systems on major rivers have been restored during 1950, and need only minor strengthening.

A three-year plan has been drafted as the first stage of the comprehensive scheme which deals with several of the most dangerous rivers, including the Huai River. In 1951, the first year of work, main effort will be centered on the Huai. The major part of the work on the Yi and Shu rivers will also be completed next year, while the preparatory work for the Kuangting reservoir on the Yungting River will be pushed.

Investigation of reservoir sites will be started on the Yellow and Han rivers, and water detention projects will be carried out all along the Yangtze, in addition to dike repairs at key points on these big rivers.

Irrigation work is to be centered in the dry areas of the Northwest. A new irrigation system will be built near Tihua in the Gobi desert in Sinkiang province. New canals are to be excavated in the vast area along the sea coast in north Kiangsu province so that more acreage can be opened in this fertile cotton-growing area.

Addressing the meeting, Minister of Water Conservancy Fu Tso-yi referred to work on flood control projects during 1950, saying: "No inundation of a significant size occured this year except in the Huai basin. The achievement is really magnificent. This is the result of the heroism displayed by the peasants, the People's Liberation Army men, members of the Communist Party and the Youth League. . . .

"Our 1951 task is on a still larger scale than 1950. We must, under any circumstances, complete more and more important flood and drought prevention projects which are urgently needed by the people. . . . Our water conservancy work is one of the main guarantees for the increase of agricultural production; therefore, it is also a basic condition for the Chinese people's victory over imperialism. Our 1951 tasks are arduous, but glorious. We must complete them conscientiously, for these will mean building our strength."

Land Reform Stepped Up

BECAUSE of the tense world situation the early completion of land reform has been scheduled for East China. With the exception of part of Fukien province and the flood-stricken areas in north Anhwei province, reform is to be completed by April 15.

According to the Central and East China headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party, the call for early land reform is a result of American imperialism extending its aggressive war as well as the fact that "both domestic and foreign counter-revolutionaries are ever intensely carrying on subversive activities."

In view of East China being foremost in plans for China's national defense it is held that "only through a more speedy carrying out of land reform can the Chinese people better consolidate the victories already won and enable ourselves to meet more advantageously any new situation which may befall."

In carrying out a speeded-up land reform the peasants are to be called upon to immediately engage in land cultivation and the accumulation of fertilizers, which should prove to be of great importance to agricultural production and harvesting in 1951.

According to reports, land reform already is being carried out on a large scale throughout East China. During the past summer and autumn 176,000 instructors were trained and the total membership in peasants' associations has reached nearly 24,000,000.

Originally it was planned to carry out reform in 178 districts with a population of 46,000,000 by the end of March. The new plan will carry it out in 246 districts with a population of 63,000,000.

Chou En-lai on Jap Peace

ANY peace treaty with Japan will be considered invalid unless the Chinese People's Republic is one of the participants. This point was made in a formal statement issued by Minister of Foreign Affairs Chou En-lai regarding the question of a Japanese peace treaty.

Emphasizing the point that the people's government is the sole legal government of the Chinese people, Chou declared: "It must take part in preparing, drawing up and concluding the peace treaty with Japan. The reactionary remnant clique of the Kuomintang has absolutely no qualifications to represent the Chinese people, and because of this, it has no qualifications to take part in any discussion or conference regarding the peace treaty with Japan. The Central People's Government considers all preparation and drafting of a peace treaty with Japan, no matter what their contents and results, as illegal and invalid unless the People's Republic has taken part in them."

Drawing a parallel between US rearming of West Germany and the rebuilding of the Japanese army "under the pseudonym of the Japanese police . . . rebuilding the Japanese air force . . . and preserving and reconstructing Japanese air bases," Chou accused America, through military control, of attempting to make Japan a colony and use Japan as a tool in aggression against Asia.

Laying down official Chinese opinion of the American proposal as well as summing up Chinese demands Chou stated: ". . . Therefore the proposals set forth in the memorandum of the US government on the question of a peace treaty with Japan do not conform to the interests of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The Chinese people strongly desire the early conclusion of a joint peace treaty with Japan together with the other allied nations of the Second World War period. But the basis of the peace treaty must entirely conform to the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Declaration; and the basic policies towards Japan based on such international agreements can bring about the democratization of Japan and prevent the resurgence of the aggressive forces of Japan. Only a democratic Japan, free from control of foreign influence, can contribute to the peace and security of Asia."

News Brevities

ON December 16, despite wintry winds, more than 150,000 members of 273 industrial and commercial guilds staged an impressive parade and rally in Shanghai. Reflecting the feeling of China's largest commercial city, Shanghai's business circles, both big and small businessmen, pledged firm support to the policy of "Resisting American Imperialism and Aiding Korea."

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BRITISH agent, Robert Webster Ford, who admitted maintaining "close contact with his friends in America, Britain and Japan" was captured by PLA forces in Tibet in the battle for Chengtu. Ford, who was sent to work in the British radio station in Lhasa in 1945, came to Chengtu in July, 1949 with two American transmitting sets, one British receiving and transmitting set, and large supplies of gasoline. Last October Ford set up a branch station on the Chinghai-Sikang border to gather military intelligence and establish contact with British radio stations in Lhasa, Gyangtse, Shigatse, Gartok and Yathong. After his capture Ford admitted that he had close contact with Lowell Thomas, American radio commentator, who, as a one-man mission, visited Tibet last year, and returned with a personal letter from the Regent to President Truman.

* * *

THE Central People's Government delegation that visited the Northwest has returned to Peking after covering more than 10,000 miles and visiting people of 17 different national minorities. This delegation, manifesting the government's good will to the nation's minorities, brought back loads of gifts, banners and letters to Mao Tse-tung, with pledges of active support for the government and the campaign against American aggression.

Letter from Canton

Wang Tsung-yen

CANTON is a city of pleasant surprises today. Things are changing on such a vast scale and at such a rapid rate that a stroll through the city makes for open-mouthed wonderment.

The last time I visited the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall I found it a dismal place. The roof was leaking, the walls were faded, many of the windowpanes were broken and a number of the chairs were without seats.

Today, the entire building has been repaired, repainted and refurnished. Five thousand new seats have been installed and everything is quite gay and festive. At night the hall is resplendent with 1,200 lights, a magnificent sight to behold.

At the foot of Yuehhsiu Hill, the big, imposing stadium is nearing completion. There are spacious grounds for athletics and terraced seats for 30,000 spectators. Never before in Canton's long history has such a vast project been undertaken —in the interest of 1,500,000 citizens.

Bridge Repaired

The pride of the city, however, still is the Pearl River Bridge which has just seen the completion of its rebuilding after having been destroyed by Chiang Kai-shek's retreating armies last year. The damage to this 600-foot long bridge, built at a cost of 1,500,000 taels of silver about 20 years ago, was extensive. The dynamite blasts not only tore the bridge in two but killed hundreds of automobile riders and pedestrians on and near the bridge. It also blew up scores of boats sailing underneath and near the bridge since no warning whatsoever was given beforehand.

Today the bridge once again spans the Pearl River, the city's chief water artery, a mighty link between the northern and southern parts of Canton. Thousands of tons of steel went into its reconstruction, amounting to JMP 16,000,000,000. Thanks to the energy and initiative of the workers, the project was completed on November 6 in time to celebrate the 33rd anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Life in Canton is more pleasant than formerly. The public services, run down by usual Kuomintang negligence, have been vastly improved. Instead of ruining one's eyesight under a dim, flickering bulb, brought on by a dearth of electric supply, one reads under a bright light. After the restoration of the city waterworks, third and fourth floor residents are assured an abundant water supply.

Street Improvements

When one goes out for a walk, the roads are found to be well-surfaced and well-swept, while the hordes of beggars which so often pestered the stroller have left and are working in the factories.

To many Cantonese, the streets seem to have become wider since the stalls and street-hawkers were removed to their proper place in the newly built marketplaces. Autos and jeeps racing at breakneck speed and endangering the lives of the pedestrian are no longer prevalent. The police are polite and efficient and nobody just hops on a bus without paying as did the KMT troops.

Happiest of all, of course, are the workers. Rising from underdogs of a society to the leaders, they have taken on dignity. Though their pay is still comparatively low, morale is magnificent. They have a goal and they attend public meetings and performances and discuss politics with an enthusiasm that is marvelous to behold.

The children are happy beyond measure. They attend school in high spirits. They sing and dance as well as play. Strangely enough, they are more respectful and considerate to their teachers now than they were before, voluntarily maintaining a discipline which is so strict that one never thought it possible. For example, cheating on exams is now nonexistent.

Following liberation, the old government's entire personnel body was taken over. In one year's time, the lazy and irresponsible bureaucrats have in the main been transformed into diligent and efficient workers. A friend of mine told me that he had been shamed into honesty by the government cadres, who were so hard-working and yet received such little pay.

Public order is being well kept. Throughout the province of Kwangtung, few disturbances have been reported. It is only in the northern districts, and the southwestern districts, which border on Vietnam, that outlaw gangs are still taking shelter.

Bandits were most rampant in February and March of this year. Those were dark days for the people of the province, for in addition to frequent raids by Kuomintang planes, robbers and gangsters were extremely active. It was reported that the bandits in Kwangtung numbered 40,000—a threat to public safety and order.

At present they are but a minor nuisance, having been reduced to 4,000. After repeated mopping-up campaigns, coupled with the organization of the peasantry and the rise in the people's political consciousness, the bandits are scarcely able to find a shelter in the countryside.

* * *

Hongkong Rumors

THE other day I went to see a friend just returned from Hongkong. Learning that his children were still in the colony, I asked him why he did not bring them along and send them to school here. He shrugged his shoulders. "Why should I? Doesn't the Communist textbook tell the schoolboys to love neither their papa nor their mama but only the state?"

Such is the effect on some of the Kuomintang propaganda, the sole function of which is to befog the minds of Chinese and foreigners. Today in Hongkong there are over 20 Kuomintang journals and magazines—all manufacturers of lies and slanders and all painting new China as black as night.

Chief among these are the *Hongkong Times*, the *Kung Shang Jih Pao*, the *Wah Kiu Jih Pao* and the *Singtao Jih Pao*. The last deserves special attention because, pretending to be a neutral, liberal observer, it has actually sown more poison into the minds of the reading public than the others.

Where did the news stories of these papers come from? Part of

them, no doubt, were concocted in the editorial offices by specialists of falsification and calumny, but not a few originated in the cosy, well-furnished rooms of the Wing On Tong on the bund of Canton ostensibly a shop selling Chinese patent medicines of the multi-millionaire Tiger Balm "King," Hu Wen-hu (Aw Boon Haw).

Outwardly purely commercial and harmless, this shop was in fact the center of Kuomintang espionage and rumor-mongering, from which secret messages were daily transmitted to Hongkong and Taiwan.

Plot Uncovered

Recently the Canton People's Government did what had been long overdue. In a series of raids, it rounded up the cultural spies and prosecuted them in court. The result of the trial was that six of them were shot while another 11 were sentenced to long-term imprisonment, ranging from five to 15 years.

To Cantonese newspapermen, most of the names of the criminals were familiar, but their personal histories and recent activities were not so well-known. Of the 17 spies, five had been military officers, one a jailor and another the loyal servant of Wang Ching-wei's puppet government. Chow Fei, the ringleader, had been trained four times by the Kuomintang reactionaries for espionage work. Among things found in their possession were two transmitting sets, 27 reactionary documents and one report on military intelligence.

Although all of these men were reactionary newspapermen of a long standing, their punishment was not due to crimes in the past but solely to subversive activities carried on after Canton's liberation. Two of them had been arrested three months ago, but after a period of political education were set free. To the disappointment of the people's government, they persisted in their heinous behavior. Another even masqueraded as a democratic journalist, gained access to government departments and collected much military, political and financial information for the Kuomintang and American special services.

A study of their technique shows them to be quite proficient in maligning and falsification. It is well-known, for example, that most Chinese are ancestor worshippers and so each household has an incense-burner. Taking advantage of this ancient tradition, one of the spies published an article in the *Singtao Jih Pao* alleging that for every incense-burner five catties of rice was exacted by the people's government. For a short time this caused much bewilderment and indignation among mis-informed people, especially in the colony.

Another sensational rumor was spread when the Victory Bonds were floated in the spring. While the patriotic merchants were enthusiastically pushing the sales of the bonds, it was suddenly reported that the owner of the Shanghai Silk Fabric Store, one of the greatest on Shang Kiu Road, committed suicide because he could not afford to purchase his allotment.

To add more color to the story, the rumor-mongers said that the owner went personally to choose a very expensive coffin, had it sent to his shop and then went quietly inside to take his own life. So widespread was the rumor that the owner issued a public notice denying the report.

One of the practices of the rumor-mongers was to give publicity to their fictions in a tea-room or restaurant. Armed with copies of scandal sheets from Hongkong, they chose the most conspicuous seats, babbled about latest news "from reliable sources" and proved their own sayings by showing people the printed stories written secretly by themselves. Thus enhancing the effect of their own scribbling by wagging their tongues, they often succeeded in making the stories go round in a short time.

Misrepresenting Facts

Of all the confessions made by the arrested spies, Teng Shiao-peng's is the most interesting because it sheds much light on their process of misrepresenting facts. Teng is quite a prolific writer, having in one year produced more than 30 feature articles and more than 100 news stories for the *Kung Shang Jih Pao*. He said:

"My stories did not need any factual basis. After I took a walk or read a newspaper, I would shut myself up in a room and proceed to invent myths. If I heard that the bandits were wiped out by the People's Liberation Army, I wrote that the former ambushed the latter and inflicted heavy casualties. If I saw several co-operatives opening, I affirmed that the People's Government trampled on legitimate business. Once I met several Hunan merchants alighting from the train and the next day I reported that Central China was suffering from a great famine and that refugees were flocking to the South."

Some Typical Idiocies

Sometimes, however, these professional liars overshot the mark and produced idiocies. For example, this is the way one spy reported the bombing of Canton, the story being entitled "An Eyewitness' Account of the Great March 3 Air-raid":

"When the bombs were dropped by Kuomintang planes onto the city, the Cantonese were not frightened at all. On the contrary, they climbed on the roofs and looked up or waved handkerchiefs to the Kuomintang pilots, evidently hoping that the Communists would be bombed to shreds."

Incidentally, this eyewitness was, as he later confessed, aboard a train some miles from Canton at the time of the bombing.

Another patent falsehood was the alleged collapse of the newly-rebuilt Pearl River Bridge. On November 2, the *Wah Kiu Jih Pao* reported that the iron frame of the northern part of the bridge was blown down by a strong wind, resulting in 200 workers sleeping thereon being killed or drowned. On the 28th of the same month, the *Hongkong Times*, too, carried the news that a steel beam of the bridge suddenly fell down, crushing 20 workers and injuring 14 others. It never occurred to these liars that a steel bridge cannot be destroyed by a mere gust of wind, nor will it collapse twice in the short period of a month.

All these, however, are things of the past. Now that the 17 spies have been nabbed and another 2,450 Kuomintang agents have voluntarily registered themselves with the authorities, most probably the Pearl River Bridge will crumble less often and the Kuomintang bombers, should they be able to come once more, will find fewer reception parties on the roof tops.

A Short Story

WHO IS THE ENEMY?

By Bai Ren

Translated by Julian Schuman

OUR artillery division was stationed in a small town. I remember the day the Japanese devils surrendered. I had gone out for a walk after drill and met a woman carrying a basket of bananas on her head. I bought a bunch of more than 10 and took them back to eat with some of the boys.

We were eating the bananas when the big squad leader rushed in, all happy and shouting: "I've great news men, the Japs have surrendered!"

At first nobody believed him, but later when we all knew it was true everybody was happy and began jumping around.

For me, the first thing was to plan for going home. During those days everyone was talking of getting home. Everybody except the big squad leader. He only had one thing on his mind—he wanted to become an officer. He wanted to climb up the ranks until he could make regiment commander.

I said to the big guy: "Squad leader, we'd better go home together! All the officers here came out of officer's school."

"Go home for what? My whole family is dead. All my life I've been free and easy. You guys all want to farm. Me, I couldn't stand that!"

• • •

NOBODY knew what it was all about but our outfit shoved off for the front. We were going to some big place. Were we going to Canton? I wondered. If we landed there I made up my mind to desert and go home.

It was true, we got on a boat. It was all crazy, and I don't know how many days we spent but finally the American navy ship stopped at some big place. We heard that it was Shanghai.

In Shanghai all my buddies went off and had their pictures taken. I also did. Carefully looking at my photo, I saw myself wearing an American-style uniform, my eyes were sunken, my nose was small and I had high cheek-bones. There was nothing wrong with me, only my face was too white. Actually, my face was so dark that everyone called me "Little Black Date." In the picture, though, it was white, like an officer's.

I asked somebody to write a letter home for me. On the photo I wrote three characters—Lin Chuen-lai. I was such a roughneck that when it came to writing my own name I couldn't do it very well, only scribbled it.

Nobody knew what the officers were up to when they packed us on an American ship again. We heard we were going to the Northeast. The whole outfit was made up of southerners and nobody wanted to go that far away.

It was even crazier this time! We were locked in a pig pen for I don't know how long before the ship came to some little place, Hulutao.

When we landed the damned place was freezing and the wind was enough to make you shiver with cold. As soon as we landed we moved on. The word got around that we were going to fight again. This was strange, we had beaten the Jap devils already, so who were we going to fight? What the hell!

The regimental commander gave us all a speech. He said that now there was a new enemy, and we had to fight this new enemy!

A new enemy? Who? Was it the Communist Eighth Route Army? Everyone knew that during the war against the Japs the Ba Lu had really fought the Japs. How come they had become the new enemy now?

Taken Prisoner

THE next few months we fought many battles and occupied several towns. I often lay on my *kang* and thought about what would happen to my family, my old father, and wife and children if I was killed. I constantly put my hand in my pocket and rubbed the two gold rings I had wrapped in a bit of cloth. I had gotten the rings after we took Yingkow and everyone went around looting. The big squad leader called me a dope and had dragged me off into a house searching for "Reds." He took six rings off some woman and gave me two as my share.

When I got home I was going to give the rings to my wife. All her life she had never even touched gold and she'd certainly be very happy.

We frittered the days by and winter came on very quickly. There was much snow and the days were really cold. The Ba Lu was full of spirit and while we didn't cross north of the river to attack Harbin, they came south of the river twice to attack us.

In March the Ba Lu came south for the third time, took many towns and closed in on Changchuen. We were ordered up as reinforcements.

Our troops up front raced across the already melting river, chasing north of the Sungari River. Nobody knew what happened, we fought one battle and then headed back south of the river.

At night we had to be especially careful. We knew that it was then that the Ba Lu always attacked us. As soon as night came our American mountain guns were like a blind tiger - - no use at all. The Ba Lu opened an offensive at nine o'clock and bombarded us heavily for several hours. My mountain gun was worthless, and I could only stand around without doing anything.

It wasn't even daylight when the Ba Lu broke through our front lines and smashed into the town. They could really fight! We were routed; some guys hid in the grass, others in houses and nobody gave a hoot about anybody else. Nobody even cared about the artillery pieces.

The big squad leader and myself hid in the house of a peasant. The big guy had always treated him cruelly but this time he was scared and asked for protection. The big guy was so scared that he buried himself in the old man's bed clothes and wanted him to say that he was his son.

Two Ba Lu men burst in, their bayonets thrust forward and gleaming. One of them grabbed me. The old man pointed to the squad leader and the big guy also became a prisoner.

The Ba Lu soldier searched me and took the two gold rings I had wrapped in cloth out of my pocket. I thought: "There goes my goods, you're going to take it from me now.

It was very queer, the soldier just looked at the rings, rewrapped them and gave them back to me. Ah ha, those guys are pretty stupid, I thought, they don't want gold rings!

More than 500 of us were sent to a small city. A great many country people stood along the road watching and making a commotion as we went along with heads lowered. They all yelled something that sounded like "Welcome, Welcome" but my head was so filled with the noise that I didn't hear very clearly.

We were sent to a PW camp. On the outside it was surrounded by barbed wire and two guards were posted at the entrance. They were very much afraid we were going to run away.

That day they served supper later than the usual time, five o'clock. It wasn't bad--dried rice, pork and cabbage. I said: "The Ba Lu's treatment is good!"

"It may be sweet at first but in the end it'll be bitter," the big squad leader chimed in.

Two days later the big guy said to me: "I hear they want to send us to the rear. If we go there we'll really be out of luck. Maybe they'll put us to work in the coal mines. But if we ask to join the Ba Lu and go to the front, at least then if nobody's looking we can take off."

I also was afraid to go to the rear and I thought his advice was sound. So we both went to see some special officer sent by the Ba Lu to ask about joining up. The big guy lied like hell. Listening to him you'd think he was a great progressive.

A day later a Ba Lu liaison man from battalion headquarters came and called us both in. The big guy went first while I waited outside. A half hour later he came out and the liaison man called me in.

The battalion commander, wearing a dirty cotton jacket, sat beside the table. He spoke very politely, not at all like an officer. I answered his questions truthfully. "My home is in Canton, there were three in my family, and I rented the land we farmed. I was 28 this year."

"Are you an artillery man or an infantry man?" was his final question.

This time I lied. I was afraid the Ba Lu hated our artillery men so I replied: "Infantry man."

* * *

IT was too bad for the big guy. The officers let me go to the front but they didn't let him go.

More than 20 of us were sent to the front. All of us had asked to join the Ba Lu and everyone was young and strong. Each guy had his own plan. What the others' thought of I didn't know. As for me, if I saw a chance I was going to beat it for home.

The Awakening

I WAS put into the third squad under a leader called Wang. Everybody called him squad leader Wang. He talked to me very informally but all I did was answer, "Yes, yes, yes. Right right, right."

At night the squad held a welcome meeting and treated me like a liberation warrior. Squad leader Wang called on the group to help me and told me to study and learn from them.

I didn't want their help. What could I learn from them? I had been a soldier longer than any of them. As for shooting artillery, I didn't want to brag but there wasn't anyone even close to me in skill.

The next day the squad leader didn't let me go out for morning drill. After breakfast he noticed that my shoes were torn, and getting a new pair of his own he said to me, "Comrade Lin, your shoes are torn, change them for a new pair."

"Squad leader Wang, I don't want them, I don't want them! You wear them yourself." I was ashamed to take them.

He took off my torn shoes and put on the new pair. I still insisted I didn't want them but the comrades all urged me to wear them. So I finally wore them.

One comrade gave me a pack of cigarettes. I was very happy for I hadn't had a smoke for days. But I pretended and said: "No, no!" They gave me soap, handkerchiefs, a toothbrush and toothpaste, all the things I had lost during the fighting.

The Ba Lu was okay, but you couldn't do as you pleased. Every day was drill and classes, classes and drill. During class all I did was sleep. Everything went in one ear and out the other. A soldier is supposed to fight so what are these classes all about, I thought.

The officers and soldiers in the Ba Lu were equal. Everybody helped everybody else and I thought this wasn't bad at all, but what was wrong was that they only ate kaoliang and turnip soup all of which wasn't very tasty. Also, even if you had some money, drinking was not permitted.

One night I got up to go to the toilet and when I got back on my *kang* I didn't fall asleep immediately. Outside, the wind blew so hard that it broke the paper window pane and gusts of wind kept blowing in. After a while, the squad leader got up and struck a match to light up his bean oil lamp.

Squad leader Wang stuffed the broken window up with his uniform, and then he went around arranging the men's covers. I stole a glance at his face, which looked like a kindly mother's under the

Confiscation of Land for Debts — *Yang Ko-yang*

light of the lamp as he very gently and quietly fixed the men's bedclothes.

I suddenly thought of my mother. When I was small she often straightened out my bedclothes at midnight, waiting until the next day when I got up to scold me for having kicked off the covers while I slept. I closed my eyes and pretended to sleep as the squad leader came over and quietly fixed my covers and I can't describe the feeling I had as he did this.

Two days later I suddenly came down with a fever, my head ached and everything before me was blurred. A camp doctor came and questioned me closely about my symptoms and anxiously felt my pulse. As he was leaving he specifically ordered me to remain quiet and rest for a few days, take the medicine he left, and then I'd be all right.

Squad leader Wang was very busy those few days, not only being in charge of the men but also looking after me while I was sick. Sometimes he'd ask: "Comrade Lin, how do you feel?" Sometimes, "Comrade Lin, are you thirsty? Do you want some water?" During all that time he ordered boiled rice gruel for me. My comrades also were so greatly concerned about me that it made me feel ill at ease.

One night I had a burning fever and could only pant with difficulty. At midnight the squad leader got up and hurried over to me and felt my forehead. He said with alarm: "Ai ya! What a fever!" and ran over to the large water kettle to boil some water but found it empty. He picked up the bamboo pole with two pails on each end and started for the door.

"Squad leader, don't boil any water—go to sleep," I said.

He didn't pay any attention and went out. A little later he returned with the water and boiled it. He didn't go back to sleep until I had finished drinking the water.

I felt very uncomfortable and tears welled up in my eyes. I swear I had seldom cried before—even when I was wounded. I thought of the way the squad leader took care of me and I felt that after I got better, if I didn't do my best I wouldn't be able to face the squad leader or the rest of the men.

* * *

OUR outfit moved up. After going all night everybody was dead tired. It was still not daybreak when we made ready to camp in a village just ahead of us.

Guarding the front had been assigned to our battalion and the third squad was sent out to probe the front. Two others and myself went ahead of the squad, about 20 meters in front.

We were still about a third of a mile away from the village when suddenly machine guns and artillery let loose at us from the village itself. The three of us quickly dispersed, seeking a better place to crawl into and return the fire.

"Whoom!" A shell exploded alongside me covering me with mud and a fragment glanced off my leg. First it felt numb, then it hurt as the blood flowed out. "You bastards! I still haven't fired back at you! You've been first in wounding me!"

I noticed that my two buddies both had found a place where they dug in and took shelter while I crawled around in the open. "Godamn it! It's really tough for an artillery man turned infantry man and without any experience." I thought to myself, "Am I going to die out here? No!"

I raised myself up to run to the rear, thinking I could rush across the open ground. How was I to know that I'd fall down after a few steps? My leg was useless.

Suddenly somebody was pulling me. I raised my head slightly and took a look and there was old Jang from my squad.

"How are you old Lin?"

"I got it in the leg."

"Take it easy!" he said. "Our main force has already surrounded the enemy's wing and our battalion is ready to open its attack!" Old Jang propped me up and running and crawling he rescued me.

A little while later our troops smashed into the village.

The Real Enemy

I WAS in the regimental hospital for more than a month. After the wound healed I returned to the third squad and all of my comrades gave me a royal welcome, talking and slapping me on the back. The squad leader told me that temporarily I was not to take on any official duty. He told me: "Old Lin you've come back just in time, our battalion is about to study land reform."

This time I felt everything was different than before and I talked and laughed freely with everyone in the squad.

The next day the political director took us on a visit to a poor peasant's house. This was not far from Changchuen and a month before it had still been in enemy territory.

The peasant's place was like a stable, small and dark. On entering you had to bend at the waist to get in. An old guy wearing a torn padded cotton jacket sat on a broken *kang*. Alongside him sat a fourteen or fifteen year old girl whose trousers were torn, showing her flesh.

The old geezer—no, the old fellow said: "Comrades! Although I've lived in this little room for more than 30 years it still isn't mine. I bought this torn cover you see on the *kang* in the early days of the republic. Look, the weather is hot now but I still wear a padded jacket. Ai! If I don't wear it what else can I wear? I wear it all year long.

"My daughter's 15 but all she has to wear are the thin clothes she's wearing now. In the winter she has to hug the *kang*. I'm past 50 this year, my back is bent and my beard is white. Ai! The poor get old fast and die early. All my life I've sweated and struggled for my grain but it always ends up in the rich man's bin. I rent somebody else's land and borrow somebody else's food.

"Two years ago there was still my son. The three people in the family all depended on him for support. But the 'Sow Disaster Army'* dragged my son off to be

*Note: The old man uses a sarcastic play on words to describe the KMT army. By using an expression which is the same as the commonly used term for the "Central Army" except for a difference in the tone of the first word, he voices his opinion of Chiang's army.

conscripted. If the Ba Lu hadn't come along and given us something to eat we would have died of starvation."

As the old man spoke he burst into tears and while I listened my nostrils quivered and my eyes became moist. I immediately thought of my own family for they also rented land from a landlord. Every year we worked hard planting rice and watering the fields by water cart. But when it was all over the harvest belonged to somebody else.

I clearly remembered one April when it hadn't rained for a long time and the fields were so dry and cracked that they looked like a turtle's back. The young sprouts were dying of dryness. Me, my father and my wife were in the field with the water cart. There wasn't a cloud in the sky. We sweated but the water in the cart was not enough to quench the thirsty sun. Suddenly a bunch of soldiers appeared, along with a district leader. They didn't give a damn about anything. They didn't care about my father's begging nor about my wife's tears. Beating and cursing they dragged me off into the army.

It was just as if my father were in front of me crying! . . . I returned to reality and saw it was the old fellow who was brushing away his tears.

* * *

OUR whole company, seated on the ground in a small forest, held a discussion meeting. The questions discussed were: 1) Why are poor people poor and rich people rich? 2) How can the poor turn over to a new life?

Discussing the first question, there were some expressions such as: The poor don't have land so they are poor; because their luck is bad; because they don't know what to do; sometimes the rich get rich through hard work.

The majority of the comrades didn't agree with these reasons. They said, "The poor are poor because they are exploited, the rich are rich only after they exploit the poor!" I expressed my opinion in a loud voice: "After the landlords drink the blood of the poor, they become rich. If there were no poor to work hard and plant, would there be any harvest?"

On the second question everyone had the same opinion. All said: "Only after we overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and wipe out the bandit army which protects the landlords can the poor turn over and have a better life."

We talked for a long time and the political director asked: "Comrades, are there still any opinions?"

I couldn't hold myself back. I couldn't face the poor, I couldn't face my father, my wife or myself. I stood up and spoke.

"I want to say something! I have something to say!"

Immediately more than a hundred pair of eyes concentrated on me. "Comrade Lin, please speak!" said the political director warmly.

"I've suffered the same kind of bitterness; my father and that old peasant are alike." I couldn't keep from breaking into tears as I spoke.

"I'm truly ashamed. I had forgotten my class origin! When I was in Chiang's army I and all the others bummed around and stole money to eat and drink a lot. It was always like that but I didn't feel it was wrong. I always thought they were good guys and that Chiang was a great man. Chiang Kai-shek flung me into his army and caused my family to suffer but just the same I sold my soul to Chiang. I looked on the enemy as friends and on friends as the enemy. I deserve to die!"

Then I took that heavy little package with the two gleaming gold rings out of my pocket. I said: "I took these from the *lao pai hsing* and thought that when I returned home I would give them to my wife to wear. I don't think that way now. I know that if we don't overthrow Chiang Kai-shek, then even if I get home there is no way of getting out of starving and misery. I don't want these two things. I want to give them up."

The applause was like a roll of thunder. Among the shouts were slogans such as: "Learn from Comrade Lin! Down with Chiang Kai-shek! Revenge Comrade Lin!"

"I had forgotten my class, and when the Ba Lu liberated me I still wanted to run home. I didn't say anything but I thought inside me that the Ba Lu's food was no good. I deceived the officers. I'm an artillery man not an infantry man! I'm a good gunner and now I see who the real enemy is! I beg the officers to send me to an artillery camp. When the next offensive comes I guarantee always to hit the target! I know who the real enemy is and I want revenge!"

I was very happy when I was sent to an artillery outfit. Only I didn't like leaving squad leader Wang, old Jang and my comrades in the third squad.

The big guy, the KMT squad leader, also was in this artillery outfit. I knew that guy's thoughts weren't any good and I was ready to report him.

The big fellow knew I had come and he looked me up and started talking. He said that they had attended "liberation classes" and seen the play "Bloody Revenge." Moreover, they had visited factories, gone to the countryside to watch the struggle against the landlords and when they returned they had spoken out openly about the past. The big guy said he had been very frank and had made up his mind to reform. He knew now that the loss of his family had been caused by the landlord and it was only after then that he had become a wastrel.

Ah ha, who would have thought the big guy would progress that quickly.

* * *

THE guns roared in the summer offensive. We pushed south. That day we were attacking an enemy point and my battalion had been chosen as the spearhead. On the battlefield I got an American mountain gun ready while my political director addressed me: "Comrade Lin, today you can show us something. Take a look. First knock out those two fortifications which are their firing positions. Afterwards destroy their barbed wire blocks. Open up a wedge so that we can smash through!"

"I can handle it!" I replied confidently.

Up front there was the crashing of many guns. Our troops entered the starting off place for the assault. The commander gave the order. I aimed carefully.

The first shot roared out and one of the fortifications went up in a cloud of smoke. The second shot blew up the second fortification!

All in all I fired five shots and the enemy's blocks went up in flames and a big wedge was opened. Our spearhead, under cover of heavy firing, rushed over the outer trenches and forward into clouds of smoke.

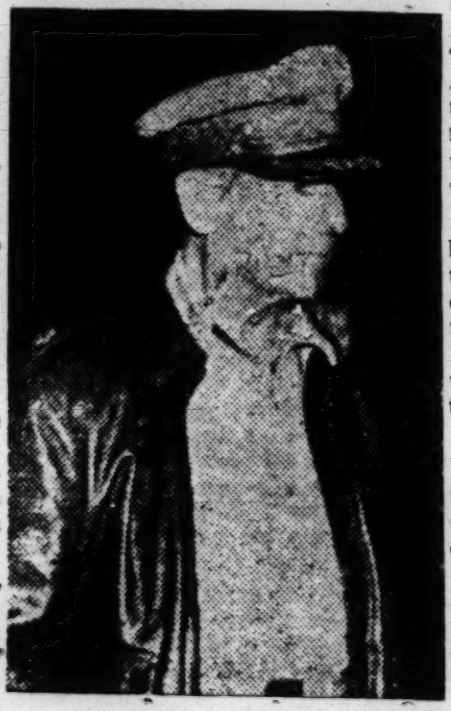
I beamed with happiness. This was the first time in my life I smiled with such happiness.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

MacArthur Myth Ended

THE stunning defeat dealt to his "United Nations" forces in North Korea by the Korean People's Army and the Chinese volunteers put an end to the well-publicized myth as to the "military genius" of General MacArthur.

By now it is history that only a matter of days before the invaders of North Korea were sent pell-mell back to the 38th Parallel, MacArthur had announced an "early completion of our mission"—getting his forces to the Chinese-Korean border in Manchuria. On November 24, *Reuter* reported "100,000 UN troops, covered by a massive air umbrella, crunched steadily forward . . . Spurred on by General MacArthur's personal leadership on the front—and his promise to have them home by Christmas — the Americans, British and South Koreans were expected to smash into the main Communist defense line in the next 24 hours. . . ."



Down the Drain

Within three days the entire MacArthur front was shattered by the Korean and Chinese counter-blow and the American-led forces hastily retreated south. The cities of Anchu, Sinanchu, Sukchun, Sungchun, Kangdong, Chinsong, Hesan and others were liberated, and on December 6, the North Korean capital Phyongyang was liberated, after having been burned to the ground by the retreating Americans.

Losses for the Americans and their "allies" were high. Even before the sorry spectacle of defeat was met, *UP* reported that the Korean war "is already the fourth most bloody in US history. It has resulted in higher casualties than the American Revolution, the Mexican and Spanish campaigns, or the War of 1812." The US Defense Department reported that American casualties in Korea up to the third week of November totaled 29,996.

Between November 24 and December 1, on the western front alone total losses for UN forces were preliminarily placed at five regiments and 15 and a half battalions annihilated; one company surrendered; two divisional command posts, one brigade, nine regiments and one battalion routed; 15,932 troops were killed. Of these, 8,095 were mainly American, with a few British and Turkish troops; 7,625 enemy troops were taken prisoner and 143 surrendered. Of these 2,272 were chiefly Americans, including 12 regimental commanders and other officers above the rank of major. Total losses in men were 23,700 for this one-week period.

During this same time, on the eastern front, the entire First Division of the US Marine Corps, a part of the Third and Seventh Divisions of the US Infantry and a part of the Third Division of the South Korean troops were surrounded and mopped up in areas west and south of the Changchin Reservoir.

As the full significance of the fighting spirit of the Koreans and their Chinese comrades sunk in on the American public, made over-confident by the US press, reports of low morale on the part of the troops in Korea became prominent. By the second week in December the *New York Times* correspondent wrote: "The men and officers of the American troops have discovered that their superiority in weapons, transport, medical supplies, rations and a myriad of modern war devices was no guarantee of victory.

"This discovery has struck a hard blow at the morale of the US troops fighting in Korea. The combat-weary troops were forced to abandon vehicles and set afire jeeps . . . The GI's faith in his weapons has suffered sharp deflation.

"The troops learned on the Korean battlefield that the best they had in equipment was not enough to halt a foe willing and determined to drive forward. . . ."

* * *

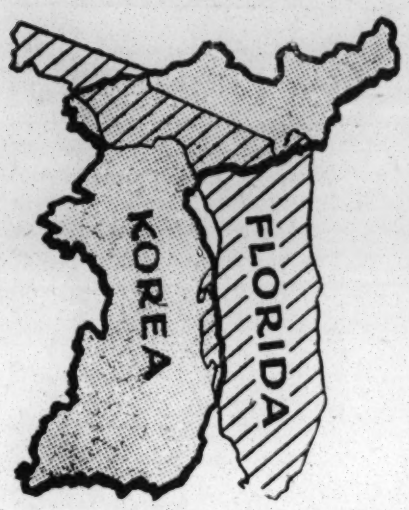
AS MacArthur's beaten troops stumbled back behind the 38th Parallel it was apparent that they would be afforded little respite for, long before they suffered the heavy blows in the north, South Korea was ablaze with organized guerilla activity.

Even at a time when the Americans were moving forward in the north, from October 1 to November 21, South Korea Police Chief Chough gave some indication of the extent of the guerilla warfare when he reported that during this period his police had fought 654 battles with "Red" bands south of the parallel. Chough stated that the biggest guerilla force was located in the Chiisan mountain region in southwest Korea. In this sector, about 45 miles from the coast, an estimated 20,000 "Reds" were waging constant attacks.

It was also revealed that the second most "troublesome" guerilla area was located east of Seoul in Kyangwon province, which straddles the 38th Parallel. The estimated number of guerillas operating here was set at around 12,000. In addition, the police chief said even in the capital province of Seoul an approximate 3,000 guerillas were conducting constant raids on highway and railway cities. He reported that in the "former UN Pusan perimeter there are now some 5,000 guerillas operating." Chough, in asking for more heavy arms revealed that his units were often outgunned

by "Red" units equipped with mortars and howitzers as well as heavy machine-guns.

COMPARABLE AREAS



Korea and Florida drawn to same scale

The growth of guerillas in South Korea hardly came as a surprise. In their earlier flush days, the American-directed South Korean military and civil authorities carried out a policy of terrorism in the areas they reconquered. Referring to such actions the *Pan-Asia News Agency*, with its headquarters in Tokyo and far from an unsympathetic sounding board for the Americans, said: "Whatever their proclamation, they seem to regard captured former Red towns as 'conquered' instead of 'liberated' and consider a large section of the populace as guilty of collaboration unless proven otherwise."

Almost a repetition of the civil war in China was the thundering herd of landlords and other former top dogs who rushed back to re-establish themselves in areas once under the North Korean People's Republic. Reported *PANA:* "Another serious problem is looting, profiteering and carpet-bagging . . . Correspondents who investigated the situation in Phyongyang [before its liberation by the KPA] were distressed by the invasion of large numbers of South Korean carpet-baggers who came in the wake of the liberation [South Korean] forces. They saw looting of rice warehouses by outfits which represented themselves as Korean military or civilian organizations. They reported illegal seizure of houses and factories by groups which claimed authority from the Korean government."

* * *

DESPITE official tales of "horror" treatment at the hands of the North Koreans and the Chinese, American prisoners were vouching for good and fair treatment.

A letter written by 10 POWs said that the Chinese paid great attention to their welfare and health, gave them medical treatment and provided enough food and comfortable quarters.

A *Hsinhua* correspondent reported from North Korea: "On one occasion we had a forum which was attended by 11 American POWs. Seven of them were workers, two were small farmers, one was a university graduate and one was a doctor. Not one came from a wealthy family. They did not know why they were fighting, for whom they were fighting, or even against whom they were fighting. They hoped that their names could be published so that their families would know they were still alive. These soldiers said that they hoped they could go back to America and swore they would never join the army again even if it meant being put in jail."

* * *

THE Chinese viewed the UN "cease fire" proposal with all-out suspicion. Pointing out that the proposal does not call for a "peaceful settlement," the UN move was seen as having been made in the interests of America, which is badly in need of a respite to regroup its forces in Korea.

The *Peking People's Daily*, on December 17, stated: "The American aggressive forces stampeding before the mighty Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers are seeking a breathing space to hold their positions and this proposal conforms precisely to the wishes of the American imperialists.

"It does not contain any plan for a just settlement of the Korean problem . . . It is obvious to all that the reason why the US and its aggressive bloc bring up and push through this proposal is to get a 'cease fire' arrangement satisfactory to their aim, which is to continue their aggression."

America in India

FAMINE notwithstanding, Asia's largest bottling plant devoted to turning out Coca Cola has been opened recently in India. At the opening ceremony Congress Minister of Industry and Civil Supply Mahatab stated: "My countrymen will now have a chance to have a drink that will, by all standards of hygiene, be absolutely safe." Simultaneous with opening its big plant, Coca Cola has unleashed a heavy advertising campaign in the press complete with full page advertisements. Commenting on this aspect of American culture, the liberal weekly *Crossroads* said: "History says that the British flag followed British traders. Well, the American 'stars and stripes' follow Coca Cola. The bottling plant is designed to bottle the Congress. That's why it is Asia's largest. The bigger the state, the bigger the plant!"

Something new was recently added to the USIS library in Bombay. All visitors were being searched on the excuse that books were disappearing. Reaction to this in some Indian circles was a call to the people for a "search" of their own into the activities of USIS in Bombay and the men who run it. It was pointed out that USIS libraries and news centers are simply covers for preparing detailed dossiers on Indian industry and commerce, on the political activities of individual Indians and on other aspects of the "Indian problem."

* * *

ACCORDING to observers at Lucknow, where the IPR conference was attended by non-official experts—professors, journalists, businessmen and others—from 16 nations, the general tone of comment was highly critical of US policies and actions in Asia in both the political and economic fields.

Delay in recognizing new China, the advance of UN military forces beyond the 38th Parallel in Korea, the protection by America of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, and attempts by the US to

circumvent the veto in the UN—all were main points of attack on the US and her allies.

In the economic field the Indians and others made it clear that they suspected aid from America "would have strings attached." According to the *New York Times* correspondent: "Discussions here of US aid to Asia have been held under a low-hanging cloud of Asian suspicions of US motives . . . "

Asians fear economic imperialism, and the "Indians, in particular, are suspicious that the US in return for any help she may give, will expect India to come over unequivocally to her side in the 'cold war'. Furthermore, they fear that the conditions attached to the loans or gifts or whatever form the aid may take, include some pressure by the US not only on foreign policy but on the running of domestic economic affairs."

That Indian misgivings about America were many could be seen from comments in various publications. A particular sore point was the official American attitude of looking down upon Asians.

Said the weekly *The Republican:* "In one of General MacArthur's communiques, the retreat of American troops was explained as the result of being overwhelmed by 'hordes' of infantry. Not masses of infantry, nor superior members of infantry but hordes as befits any oriental army. . . . North Koreans crossing a river are described as swarming across 'like rats' . . . The minimizing of Asians and instinctive indifference to their sensibilities are especially strong in the US command. The putting of Formosa (Taiwan) under the protection of the US fleet is a crass example of this not very flattering attitude towards the Asians, since this decision was taken in full knowledge of the fact that it will shock public opinion, even of India, whose support of the Security Council's resolution had caused such 'immense relief' in the US."

British Don't Like Mac

EVEN before the walls caved in on MacArthur's "United Nations" troops in North Korea the British were voicing their displeasure with the US military chief. *The News Chronicle* said that MacArthur's statement about ending the Korean war by Christmas ranked "high among the stupidities of history."

Particularly disquieting to official British circles was the fact that only at the very last moment was the government informed of MacArthur's decision to stage his ill-advised "final offensive" in November, according to the *Agence France Presse.*

In parliamentary circles both Labor and Conservative members were highly critical of MacArthur's one-man show. Both factions, for different reasons, were not slow in giving expression to their feelings. They feared that the war in Korea was sucking Britain into a third world war. The left wing section of the Labor Party pressed for applying brakes on MacArthur and concentrating on a diplomatic political settlement with the Soviet Union and China. As for the extreme right-wing of the Conservative Party, Churchill's global strategy was in danger since MacArthur was committing America to concentrate in Asia to the detriment of Western Europe.

By the beginning of December, *Reuter* reported from London that "it is a fact that the British man in the street in recent weeks is growing more and more restive, fearing that the American conduct of the Korean war is bringing a third world war nearer.

"What is more, he feels that his cost of living is going up without much hope of improvement against the mounting costs of armament. In the growing crisis the British government is also anxious to take the other members of the Commonwealth with them in working out a common foreign policy."

* * *

THAT American policy in the Far East was having far reaching effect on all of Western Europe and the Atlantic Pact nations was a fact. There were British doubts on the extent of rearmament and the desire to enjoy greater independence; French opposition to remilitarization of Germany; different views among the Americans, British and French on the recent Soviet proposal on Germany, and on the growing strength of the Schumacher group in West Germany which complicated the problem of German rearmament.

In virtually every Atlantic Pact capital in Europe anxious officials met the American indictment of China as an aggressor in Korea with steadfast silence. However, the leading newspapers, mainly anti-Communist, angrily denounced MacArthur's policy.

Most of the British press gave the verdict in terms such as "dangerous," "foolish," and "disaster." Hardly anywhere did MacArthur have any supporters for bombing Manchuria or going as far as the Manchurian border. Newspapers such as *The Manchester Guardian*, the *London Times* and Lord Rothermere's staunchly, conservative *Daily Mail* ganged up on MacArthur for going too far.

The anti-Communist French *Franc Tireur* said: "If the fate of the UN and lives of so many men were not at stake one could rejoice at the crushing lesson MacArthur has just received."

In Germany the independent *Frankfurter Allgemeine* said the trouble was "MacArthur obviously considered himself for years, not only a general but also a politician."

FACT AND FICTION

THE British press does not lag far behind the American press on "authentic" stories about China. A November 28 *Reuter* dispatch from Taiwan announced: "Communist officials in Shanghai have announced a 'winter-time defense' period involving stricter curfew reinforcements and a more rigid identification, according to mainland reports received here . . . "

The fact is that since the KMT was sent rushing out of Shanghai by the PLA in May 1949 there has not been any curfew. The last Shanghai curfew was in the final days of the Chiang regime. At that time the curfew was from seven at night until six in the morning.

Spoils of Empire

AT home and abroad the American people were having to pay the price of the cold war. While domestic monopolies gouged the right pocket, "allies" were hard at work in the left pocket. For the American people, even before the stunning Korean reverses, the price of guns as well as butter was going up.

John McCone, Under-secretary of the Air Force has pointed out the effect of rising prices since April on the purchasing power of the 1950 Congressional appropriations for arms. For articles that are used in the manufacture of combat aircraft, said Mr. McCone, prices in the period from April to October had risen an extra $315,000,000 to $360,000,000. As McMone put it, expressed in units of F-86 jet planes, this meant that the dollars on hand could buy 750 less planes.

According to the Air Force official, this is explained by the fact that in this period crude rubber prices have risen 128.9 percent, aluminum 2.9 percent, copper 23.6 percent, tin 32.9 percent, etc.

One report, quoted in the *New York Times* of October 8 states: "Mr. McCone's formula can be carried further and made even more graphic, using the prices accepted in defense orders since the invasion of South Korea and quoted in bids on hand. Taking sums in dollars which on June 25 could have bought 100 of certain defense items, the price rise has reduced the number purchasable with the same sums today as follows: rocket launchers for 3½-inch bazookas, 77; one-half ton trucks, 95; 57-mm. recoilless rifles, 77; 75-mm. recoilless rifles, 77; one-ton trailers, 87; walkie-talkie radios, 66."

In Chicago, according to *UP*, the Secretary of the Interior also stated that the cost of war weapons had soared since the outbreak of the Korean war. He also charged that profiteers threatened economic instability through "unpatriotic" price increases.

Addressing the 12th National CIO Convention, the secretary said the growing steel shortage was "endangering the country's future" and he blamed the steel industry for refusing to expand steel facilities.

At the same time the Secretary of the Interior spoke of zooming war costs at the expense of the public, in Washington Senator Paul Douglas charged that British tin and rubber monopolies had "unmercifully" squeezed America on prices since the Korean war.

Douglas told reporters that the British are acting like "economic monopolists rather than gallant cooperative allies. They have tried to wring as much from us as they could get."

Charges by Douglas came on the heels of a Senate report which criticized "allied nations" controlling supplies of various strategic materials.

A staunch advocate of Marshall aid, Douglas said that British tin and rubber interests are bent on driving "our" friendship to the limit. "British cartels in tin and rubber have taken the American people for a ride," Douglas gloomily charged. He revealed that tin is now selling for $1.40 a pound compared with 52 cents during World War II while rubber prices have quadrupled since the start of the Korean war.

Enter the Nazis

AS 1950 came to an end the US, bogged down in Asia, made ready for its penultimate surrender of the aims of the war against Hitler. The beginning of 1951 was to see the final period of limited "control" over the Federal Government of Western Germany.

In November the revision of the Occupation Statute was all but completed. US High Commissioner John J. McCloy (related to West German Chancellor Dr. Adenauer by marriage) was expected to relinquish his post by the end of the coming summer. McCloy was reported to believe that by that time the West German state will be firmly established and the "difficult question of German rearmament settled to the satisfaction of Western Europe and Germany."

According to the *New York Times'* Berlin correspondent, the revision of the Occupation Statute and the consequent reduction of the US, British and French High Commissioners' staffs are expected to encourage "right wing elements in West Germany to a new burst of energy." The West German government will have all control of German affairs save that exercised indirectly through the presence of an increasingly powerful allied army of occupation, according to the *Times*.

One of the chief effects of the withdrawal is expected to be an even more vehement reassertion of extreme right wing beliefs and doctrnes.

For example, the Bruderschaft, organization of former German officers, which finally came into the open in November, has formally announced its organization. Since its beginning late in 1949 this group has gradually changed from an outfit of former professional soldiers into an organization led by former SS men.

Helmutt Broichsitter told a gathering in the British zone that more than 60 percent of the group's membership were SS veterans, "our comrades of the armed SS."

The Bruderschaft, in true Nazi manner, is campaigning as the real leader of "new Germany" and seeks a German army on the largest scale with Germany at the head of "a united Europe with Africa as its hinterland."

Press reports from West Germany also reveal that a number of other extreme rightist groups have been taking form and those already organized "seem to be becoming more radical than heretofore." In Brunswick the "Fighting Group of German Socialists" has been organized to "protect meetings of right wing organizations."

The organizer of another group of "minute men," The New Guard, is Wolfgang Mueller and one of the members of the organization is Rainer Klagges, son of Dietrich Klagges, recently sentenced to life imprisonment for Nazi brutalities.

As far back as September of last year a German mobile police force was being formed under Count Gerhard von Schwerin, a former tank general. The new force, of up to 30 battalions of police, is expected to be ready by the end of this summer. Von Schwerin reportedly has been drawing up lists of equipment for the new force "understood to include rifles, pistols, machine and tommy guns, tear gas bombs, light mortars, and armored cars."

New Rail Link for Southwest

After a half century of "planning," Chengtu-Chungking Railway is actually being constructed. Other new lines will link Southwest with rest of China.

EARLY last spring, some four months after the liberation of Chungking, the Southwest Railway Engineering Bureau was established and work was commenced on the Chengtu-Chungking Railway.

In the months which have passed, progress has been rapid. The roadbed has been completed in many sections, ties and rails have been laid. Some rolling stock has even arrived and the first sections out of Chungking are scheduled to be open to traffic within a few weeks.

Superficially there is nothing spectacular about this work. It is merely another of the many needed construction jobs which the new government has undertaken during the past year and, like the others, it is well on its way to completion. However, the fact that this long-planned and much talked-about rail link is at last on the way to becoming a reality is startling news. The implications are many and go far beyond the basic economic benefits which completion of the line will bring to China's most populous province.

An Old Political Plum

For more than 40 years the Chengtu-Chungking Railway has been marked on the map as an unfinished line. The project had its beginnings in the early days of this century when plans for linking China's vast southwest hinterland with the rest of the country were first discussed. In 1906 (the 34th year of the Manchu Emperor Kwang Chu) a Chengtu-Hankow railway company was set up with loans from the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank. During the few years which remained of the Ching Dynasty some work was actually begun on the Hankow-Ichang section.

However, not much was accomplished since the proposed line became a political plum in the capital, and energies were devoted more to fighting for control of the proposed line than in actually building it.

Following the 1911 revolution and the rise to power of Yuan Shih-kai, Szechuen came under the control of several warlords and work, not to mention planning, became virtually impossible. However, the idea was never abandoned and construction of the line was always a foremost plank in the platforms of the various warlords and other officials.

In 1931 local Szechuen interests suggested that Szechuen go ahead and construct the Chengtu-Chungking section of the line, without waiting until such time as the whole railway could be again undertaken. A promotion company was formed and the people's hopes were once again raised. However, this scheme too came to an ignominious end but not until the promoters had milked the public of considerable funds.

KMT Tries Its Hand

In 1933 Chiang Kai-shek managed to extend his influence into Szechuen and, in an attempt to secure popular support for his campaign against the native warlords, promised the people that the railway would be built. The handling of the work was turned over to Chiang's brother-in-law, T. V. Soong, who organized a new promotion company, known as the Szechuen-Kweichow Railway Company. Soong concluded an agreement with French bankers to provide the major portion of the financing. The French put up 34,500,000 silver dollars and Soong raised 21,500,000 silver dollars, a large part of which was squeezed out of the Szechuenese.

Under the terms of the agreement all the materials and rolling stock were to be purchased from France, while the French investors were to exercise a dominant role in the construction and operation of the line.

A number of commissions and bureaus were established and by 1936 some of the actual construction work began. However, before much progress had been made, the troubles that were to cause the downfall of the Kuomintang set in. Inflation, corruption in the bureaucracy and inefficiency hampered the work. The outbreak of the war against the Japan, with the resultant dislocation of communications and general worsening of the political and economic situation spelled the defeat of this effort. By 1941 work, which had slowed with each passing year, came to a halt.

With the end of the war against Japan, plans were made for resumption of work. In October 1945, Chiang Kai-shek solemnly promised the people of Szechuen that the Central Government would complete the railway within two years. During the period October 1945 to November 1949 when Chungking was liberated, the Chiang regime had appropriated CNC$498,000,000,000, GY24,000,000,000 and 225,000 silver dollars for the work. However, because of the inefficiency and corruption of government per-

Workers at Shihchiangshan Reading Their Own Newspaper *by Li Hua*

sonnel, only some 9 percent of the job was completed, thus leaving the railway, as of liberation, about 35 percent completed.

As noted above, four months after liberation the project was reorganized. Actual work began on last June 15, with the line being divided into nine sections, work proceeding simultaneously on each section. It is expected that the whole line will be completed before the end of next year. Meanwhile, the 125-kilometer section between Chungking and Chu Yang Chi is scheduled to be completed and in operation this month.

Native Materials

One of the difficulties encountered in past railway construction was that when foreign loans were obtained, the terms of the loan agreement usually stipulated that all materials should be purchased in the country which made the loan. This had several adverse effects. First, it made construction costs unnecessarily high since the restriction enabled the foreign equipment makers to charge as much as they pleased.

Second, because of the high initial investment, it was difficult to operate the railways on a profitable basis, thus resulting in ever-increasing deficits and in ever-increasing foreign control of the operation and management of the lines. Third, this practice retarded the development of China's native railway equipment manufacturing industry.

When it was decided to complete the Chengtu-Chungking line, it was also decided to use only native materials, thus avoiding the many problems which beset earlier railway building projects in this country. The Central Railway Department has allocated 10 locomotives for the line, six of which have already arrived as well as several boxcars. Steel from Taiyuan is being shipped to Chungking where the rails are being made. The 1,200,000 cross ties required are being obtained in the Southwest, mainly in Szechuen itself.

The actual work is also being entirely done by Chinese. Planning, engineering and management jobs are all filled by Chinese. Besides the railway bureau staff and workers, a number of military engineer groups are participating in the work in order to expedite the job. Unemployed workers have been recruited as have beggars in the cities. At present more than 100,000 people are at work on the various sections of the line.

Other Rail Links

While the Chengtu-Chungking Railway has received the most public attention because of its signal importance and long history, other railway construction work is also underway in the Southwest. By the time the Chengtu-Chungking line is completed, it will be linked at both ends with other lines so that within the next two years it will be possible to travel from the Southwest to other sections of the country entirely by rail.

On the same date that work began in Chengtu and Chungking, survey work began for the Tiensui-Chengtu line. Meanwhile, seven surveying teams were busy laying out the Lungchang-Kweiyang Railway. (Lungchang is a station on the route of the Chengtu-Chungking line and will later become a junction at which the line from south China will join the Chengtu-Chungking road.—Editor) Construction of this line is scheduled to be completed by next May.

Meanwhile work is progressing on the line south of Kweiyang, linking that capital city of Kweichow province with Liuchow, in Kwangsi. Thus, it will shortly be possible to go from Chengtu or Chungking south to Kweiyang and thence to Liuchow. From Liuchow there is already a direct rail link with Canton, as well as with Shanghai via Hengyang, Nanchang and Hangchow.

It will also be possible to go from Chungking or Chengtu in the other direction to Tiensui, Paochi, Sian and thence to Chengchow. From Chengchow, a division point on the Ping-Han line, one can go south to Hankow, east to Hsuchow and thence on to Nanking and Shanghai, or north to Peking, Mukden, Harbin, the Soviet Union and Europe.

What the linking of the Southwest with the rest of the country by direct rail lines will mean can easily be imagined. Szechuen province, for example, is one of the richest and largest and is the most populous of the country. Each year tens of thousands of piculs of its surplus rice are exported to other areas of China, sometimes by methods of transportation so torturous that the freight costs equal or exceed the original purchase price of the grain.

Roughly a similar situation exists as regards transportation of many industrial or finished products into the Southwest from other areas of the country. The whole of the Southwest, particularly Szechuen, is rich in varied natural resources. With the inauguration of rail service with the rest of the country, the rice, salt, cloth, coal, iron and other resources of the area can be properly developed and utilized, for the enrichment of the people of the Southwest and for the country as a whole.

— *T. W. LU*

That Well-known Limb

A CERTAIN Homer Alexander writing in the *Los Angeles Times* when the American forces were still riding high in Korea got himself out on a limb in no uncertain terms. Letting the mask slip from the face of the proponents of the "American Century," Mr. Alexander bluntly stated:

"The US has won another war. . . . Despite the fiction of carrying out a UN police action, we have a clearer claim to write our own ticket than in 1918 or even in 1945. For we have not only become the mightiest of military nations, we also stand as the fountainhead of the world's diplomatic leadership, of the world's thought. . . .

"Who else dominates the seven seas and the air above them? Whose diplomats control every positive move of the 57-member UN and of the left-out nations, such as Germany, Japan and Spain? . . . And what else except made-in-America democracy is the overriding philosophy and aspiration of the known universe? . . . We truthfully bestride the world like a colossus. Well, somobody's got to be boss. What are we waiting for?"

Open Letter to the American POWs

This open letter to the American prisoners of war in Korea was written late in November by the foreign staff members of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives' Technical School at Shantan, Kansu. It is a message of greetings and support to the American POWs from a group of foreign teachers working in China's northwest hinterland which was written after they had received news of one of the early protest statements issued by the American war prisoners.—Editor.

Dear Friends:

We foreign staff members of the Shantan Bailie School are all deeply gratified for the large measure of honest courage you American POWs show in speaking out against what you now can clearly see is a great injustice to the people of Korea and to the people of the whole world.

That it is an act of great courage to thus speak out no one can doubt—least of all you yourselves who know the view traditional military authority takes toward soldiers who question the wisdom of official policy. You have our admiration for ignoring the very real possibility of reprisals against yourselves should you again come under American army control, for refusing to be deterred by the possibility of social and economic sanctions against your families and friends. Ironical as it may seem, to defend peace is the greatest challenge of our times.

Undoubtedly you have all thought matters over very carefully, weighing what you had been told about the nature of this war before your capture against what you have personally seen and experienced since your capture. That you have been so quick to note the discrepancies is a tribute to your honesty and open-mindedness, but even more a tribute to the size of those discrepancies.

Probably there are still some among you who, for various reasons, don't see what is so plain to the rest of you, or seeing it, are afraid to speak. We urge you to bend every effort to make them realize that whatever their reasons are for holding back—be these reasons large and weighty—no reason can be so urgent and compelling as those which make us all demand peace. They cannot buy themselves personal safety in the future by remaining silent today. Rather they are forging their own shackles, digging their own graves. As men with military training you all know that one weak platoon in a divisional line, even though it is numerically only one-eightieth or so of the divisional strength, can cause the ruin of the entire division. You have made your decision. You have committed yourselves. Now it is up to you to make your commitment stick. Was it John Hancock who said, affixing the first signature to the Declaration of Independence, "We must all hang together, or we shall all surely hang separately."

* * *

OUR introduction to the people of Asia has been more fortunate than yours. All of us are here because we want to be. We could see quite early on that things in China were not exactly as presented in *Time* and *Life*. The truth in China, as in Korea, (and, by logical inference, in all other Asiatic countries struggling for an end to feudalism and colonial rule) was there in plain sight. Anyone with normal intelligence and honesty of purpose could see it. All of us here could have left long before Shantan was liberated—as we were all advised to do by the collapsing KMT government, and by our own respective governments. But we knew the truth, and the truth compelled us to stay.

It is a thrilling experience, taking part in the birth of this great people's democracy. The air of confidence, hope, and youthful vigor reminds us of what we have read about the opening up of the American continent—with several important exceptions. Not the least of these exceptions is that the wealth to be gained is for *all* the people, not just for those who can grab and hold the most. It is a big thing, this birth of a new nation—big enough to appeal to anyone's imagination—but here is another important exception. Unlike America's west it is not sprawling, chaotic—ugliness and beauty side by side, eruptive growth wallowing in confusion through which one has to look long and hard to find any unity of purpose.

Perhaps this is one of the most striking manifestations of this miracle daily growing before our eyes, that it is so big, but also so orderly and purposeful, and so willingly supported by all classes—workers, students, farmers, merchants, factory owners, civil servants, soldiers—in fact by everyone except the corrupters and wasters who were the cause of the old society being in such a mess.

Any of you who have gone into the history of the relations between the white settlers and the American Indians know that this part of American history is a sordid chronicle of treachery and murder, with the Indians usually getting the dirty end of the stick.

Relations between the Chinese and the minority groups living within the country's borders had much this same flavor under the old regime, and it is no small credit to the new government that they have brought to an end the state of undeclared war which has existed continuously among all the groups for thousands of years. For the first time this area is seeing not government of the Moslems, Kazaks, Turki, Mongols, or Tibetans by the Chinese but the participation of all these races in a common government for the common good.

* * *

THERE is only one axe being ground here—the people's axe. A new idea is sweeping over Asia and it will sweep further still in spite of all that the

MacArthurs and the Dulleses do to "contain" it. It's a very simple idea—so simple and straightforward, so clear and appealing that no amount of legal hypocrisy or diplomatic gymnastics in the United Nations, or out of it, will ever confuse the minds of the people about it. This idea is simply that there can be no real prosperity and happiness for any individual or group unless there are these things for all individuals and groups. This is the keystone of the new way of life being built.

Our experience here indicates clearly that this does not mean, the Voice of America notwithstanding, that the individual as such doesn't have a chance, that he loses his personal identity in a vague, sinister thing called the "masses." On the contrary, the individual takes on a new importance as he approaches a higher personal development than he ever knew before, through his efforts toward furthering the advancement of society as a whole. In the entire country there are no more lustrous figures than those of the honored workers.

This is why the masses of Asia, of the world, are demanding peace. War is destroying their heritage. *They* find no profit in aggression.

At the same time they are learning what Americans learned almost 200 years ago, but for the most part seem to have forgotten. Freedom is seldom voluntarily offered; it must be won, and being won, jealously guarded. Peace, yes—but not the peace of the slave, not if the price of peace is freedom. There is a sort of peace over southern Korea now, but what spectres has this peace brought with it to haunt the lives of the people? It is the same sort of peace Franco gave to the Spanish people—peace to shut up the living as if dead, peace to die quickly if one cries for freedom.

We hope you have been able to follow recent developments in the States. If you have you can see that the winning of freedom is not exclusively an Asiatic problem. The tearing up of the Bill of Rights is not just something progressives have been warning about for several years now, it is an accomplished fact. Liberty is suffering an eclipse in America, but it will emerge stronger and more universal than ever when the people of good sense and good will, the bulk of Americans, begin to feel the heavy hand of "anti-communism" on their own shoulders. We must ask ourselves why they don't yet understand. Who has erected an "iron curtain" and where, and why? As Robert Frost said in his poem, "Mending Wall":

"Before I built a wall I'd ask to know
What I was walling in or walling out."

* * *

ALL of us here in the school, Chinese and foreign, have lived on both sides of this "curtain," so we can be quite emphatic in our choice of sides. Nothing could induce any one of us to ask for a return of the old regime. Nothing can induce any one of us foreigners to support our respective governments' intervention in the affairs of these sovereign peoples. Nothing will deter us from doing our utmost to consolidate and further the victories of the Asian people's liberation movement.

As long as people like MacArthur and company are left to control the destinies of the American people, and through that control exercise a sinister influence on the destinies of all people everywhere, we shall have no peace, but only war. Knowing what you now know, can you still fail to believe that this man, who recently said, "Nothing could be more fallacious than the threadbare argument . . . that if we defend Formosa (Taiwan), we alienate continental Asia," (MacArthur as quoted in the *New York Times*, September 3, 1950), and all others like him are dangerous, and must be stopped at all costs?

It is our heartfelt wish that you American POWs will continue to support the just cause of the Korean people, will try by every good means to strengthen the unity within your group, and will seek by every means possible to bring the truth out into the fresh, clean air for the people of America and of the whole world to see.

The truth—this one weapon alone will be the undoing of these enemies of all mankind!

Sincerely yours,

REWI ALLEY
(New Zealand)
DON KEMP
(United States)
H. COURTNEY ARCHER
(New Zealand)
HUGH ELLIOT
(Canada)
C. A. CURWEN
(Great Britain)
MAX WILKINSON
(New Zealand)
WALTER ILLSLEY
(United States)

This picture, taken early in the Korean war, shows American POWs in the mess hall of their camp in Phongyong.

Wall Street's "Men in Government"

"AS the largest producer, the largest source of capital and the biggest contributor to the global mechanism, we must set the pace and assume the responsibility of the majority stockholder in this corporation known as the world."

This program for American big business was laid down by Leo D. Welch, secretary of Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey. Welch as early as 1946 urged an all-out war by American big business to maintain its position of world-wide domination. Tersely pointing the way to carry this off, Welch said: "Men in government."

In America today an oligarchy has been established which dominates the nation, not only financially but politically. Top dogs in this monied aristocracy are the Morgan and Rockefeller interests. The end of World War II has seen an unending stream of Morgan and Rockefeller men filing into government posts.

From Secretary of State Acheson down official America is shot through with men representing the big money. Acheson came to the department from a law firm which represented the Iranian and Greek governments and the Arabian-American Oil Company (Rockefeller's).

A glance at others in the State Department is another look at Morgan and Rockefeller men.

Robert A. Lovett: Named Deputy Defense Secretary by Truman in October of last year, Lovett was the key Morgan man in the State Department when General Marshall served as Secretary of State. The choice of this former under-secretary of the State Department (1947-49) underscored the administration's determination not to relax world tension since Lovett was one of the chief authors of the cold war policy. He is a former partner of Brown Brothers Harriman (Morgan-Rockefeller), long associated with the German end of that firm's business. He is also a former director of the Morgan New York Life Insurance Company.

Robert A. Lovett

George W. Perkins: A former director of Morgan's National City Bank (a bank which has more foreign branches than all other US banks combined), he has been Assistant-secretary of State for European Affairs since 1949. His father was the elder J. P. Morgan's top political lieutenant at the beginning of the century as well as a vice-president in Morgan's New York Life Insurance Company.

James Webb: Under-secretary of State since January 1949. Formerly Executive Assistant to the Under-secretary of the Treasury in 1946. A vice-president of the Sperry Gyroscope Company a firm which expanded greatly during the last war, Perkins owes his rise in government to the Duke family of North Carolina, biggest stockholders in the British American Tobacco Co., associated with the Morgans.

W. Averell Harriman

* * *

IN the Far East, under General MacArthur, Japan has become the pivot of American policy. Ever since his 1922 marriage to a step-daughter of the number one J. P. Morgan partner, Edward T. Stotesbury, MacArthur has had close ties with the Morgan empire. Ever since those days when he was still a young army officer with financial stakes in the Philippines, MacArthur's financial star has been hitched to the Morgan wagon.

Aside from MacArthur's influence, American policy in Japan has been dictated by a series of economic missions made up of representatives from American big business. The first important mission was the 1947 group of engineering firm representatives under the chairmanship of Clifford Strike, president of F. H. McGraw. This mission called for the end of the Potsdam agreement so Japan would not have to pay reparations. Five members were connected directly with Morgan or Rockefeller controlled firms.

After the Strike mission came one under Percy M. Johnston, executive committee chairman of Morgan's Chemical Bank and Trust Company. In 1948 this company demanded that Japan be built up as an ally of the US and conditions improved for American investments. Top men on this mission were linked directly with Morgan and Rockefeller interests.

Early in 1949 the Detroit banker Joseph Dodge was made MacArthur's financial advisor with absolute economic authority. Formerly vice-president of General Motors' (Dupont-Morgan) First National Bank of Detroit, Dodge is president and director of

a Detroit real estate and insurance bank in which the Morgans are represented.

* * *

THE grasping Morgan hand didn't fail to neglect Korea. The dominant American interest in Korea is held by Morgan's National City Bank.

During the Japanese occupation the National City Bank was the fiscal agent for the Oriental Development Company, a Japanese government company which owned most of the rice and arable land as well as the industrial wealth. After VJ Day this company was taken over by the US military government as reparations. After the reparations program was torpedoed, the company was reorganized as the New Korea Company. National City again became the fiscal agent, handling all bonds which was concrete indication of close ties to ownership.

* * *

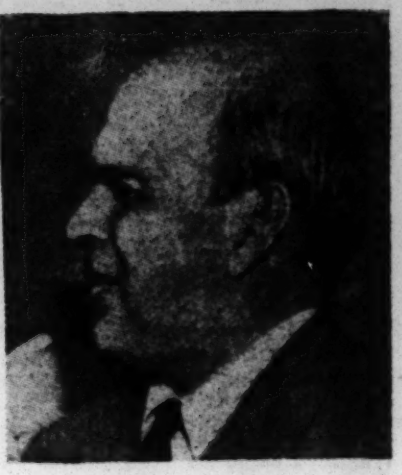
THE same interests at work in the Far East have played a parallel role in industrialized Europe with a revived Germany, with whose industry they have had binding connections, as the pivot. Some of the more important figures, past and present, in molding American foreign policy aimed at restoring the men who made Hitler are:

Edward Stettinius: Son of a Morgan partner and one time president of Morgan's US Steel. Secretary of State until July 1945, when he formed Stettinius Associates to exploit the riches of Africa. His successor James F. Byrnes when leaving his post in 1947 was rewarded with a directorship in Morgan's Newmont Mining Company.

James Forrestal: Former president of Dillon Read which has both Morgan and Rockefeller representatives on its boards. Defense Chief from 1947-49, he committed suicide being obsessed about the menace of the Soviet Union. This reached a point where a passing fire engine caused him to rush into the street in his pajamas shouting that the "Reds" had invaded the US. In more rational moments Forestal pushed the Truman Doctrine to protect Rockefeller oil interests in the Middle East.

W. Stuart Symington

W. Averell Harriman: At present Truman's top foreign policy adviser, Harriman is a partner of Brown Brothers Harriman, investment bankers which he organized with Percy Rockefeller. With investments in Russian manganese and in Silesian (East Germany) copper, made under Percy Rockefeller's direction, Harriman at first played a liberal game, hoping to save these interests by going along with Roosevelt on a recognition-of-USSR policy. Later he bitterly turned.



John J. McCloy

The American struggle against Poland and over the German-Polish border at San Francisco was largely a Harriman-led Morgan-Rockefeller fight to retain the Silesian copper mines.

W. Stuart Symington: Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, he is the director of US war mobilization activities. An advocate of "hotting up the cold war," Symington was brought into the government by Artemus L. Gates, a close friend of Forrestal. Gates was president of the Morgan New York Trust Company and the Morgan representative on the board of directors of the Luce publications *Time, Life and Fortune.*

Louis Johnson: Former Secretary of Defense who "took the rap" for initial US defeats in South Korea, he represented the Rockefeller interests in the Cabinet, being associated with them through the Schroder banking combine.

* * *

BIG money representatives are not only garbed in diplomatic frock—some are in uniform.

General William Draper: Vice-President of Dillon Read, he has been closely connected with the German cartels through this post. Along with Brown Brothers Harriman, this firm placed more than 86 percent of the US$2,000,000,000 the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis borrowed from US investors to help finance preparations for World War II

General Lucius Clay: Head of American Military Government in Germany after VJ Day, became director of the Morgan-Goldman Sachs Continental Can Company in 1949. When Draper left Germany in 1947 to become Under-secretary of War. Clay appointed Lawrence Wilkinson as his economic advisor. In 1949 Wilkinson left Germany to join Draper in Dillon and Read. In January 1949 Clay named a commission to run the Ruhr steel industry. It included four officials of Morgan's US Steel and one from Inland Steel (Morgan's Cleveland group).

John J. McCloy, who laid out the pattern for the revival of Germany has close business and family connections with Germany. He is closely related to West German chancellor Konrad Adenauer by marriage. McCloy had joined a Rockefeller law firm in 1945. His connections include brother-in-law John Zinsser, a director of J. P. Morgan and Company. A number of members and partners of Kuhn Loeb and one of McCloy's former law firms managed to turn up in key posts on his German staff.

Resolutions of Northeastern People's Government on Higher Education

The following resolutions on higher education, which were signed by Northeast Chairman Kao Kang and promulgated on March 31, 1950, reflect present educational policy in the country's most advanced area. As pointed out in the interview with Mr. Tsao Wei-feng (page 8) present plans for changes in the higher educational institutions in East China center around reforming the curriculum and other aspects of college education. These resolutions now enforced in the Northeast may be considered as a general goal toward which higher educational policy in other sections of the country will be directed.—Editor.

I. Policy of Higher Education

AFTER one year's development and readjustment, higher education in the Northeast has been laid on a preliminary foundation and directed into a normal channel. But due to the rather short history of our regular education and the restriction of manpower and financial resources, the quality and quantity of the existing higher education are in general still very low. Consequently, the higher education hereafter shall, in accordance with the educational policy of the Central People's Government, be further raised in both quality and quantity and shall plan to foster a number of working and peasant intellectuals to meet the demand of national construction and to prepare the necessary conditions for future large-scale development.

The cadres fostered by higher education should possess the ideology of service to the people as well as higher scientific and technical knowledge and grasp the basic contents of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to unify theory and practice and to link up actual experiences with science.

In order to strengthen the close relationship between higher education and the economic construction of the Northeast, the Cultural and Educational Committee should, in conjunction with the branches concerned, further study and determine the system and methods of linking schools with related industrial enterprises, investigate in an over-all manner the kind, quantity and quality of experts that need to be fostered for different quarters, as well as formulate, in accordance with the national higher educational plan of the Central Education Ministry, development and construction plans for various higher schools of the Northeast within a difinite period so as to assure the necessary cadres and material equipment.

Under the present circumstances, as both manpower and material resources are still difficult to get, our strength shall be employed in key-points, with emphasis laid first on engineering schools. In order to meet the demand of the industrial construction at present, various branches of enterprises and various higher schools shall be simultaneously responsible for short-term training of cadres, training of employed cadres by turns and the spare-time supplementary education in factories.

II. Raising of Quality and Quantity of Higher Education

THE central problems in raising the quality and quantity of higher education at present are: to study further the formulation of teaching plans and teaching outlines of higher schools and overcome the impractical formalistic phenomenon; to solve gradually the problem of teaching materials in a planned manner; to raise the quality and quantity of teachers and improve the teaching methods; and to strengthen the theoretical political education as well as the leadership of the teaching work.

1) Principles for making teaching plans and outlines.

a. The concrete purposes for fostering students of different departments shall be definitely set, and the contents of the teaching plans and outlines shall be determined according to these purposes.

b. For the sake of effecting close links between theoretical study and experiments and practices, the teaching plans and outlines should represent a unified teaching process consisting of the entire contents of the former. The time for experiments and practices is generally set at 30 to 40 percent of the teaching time of the corresponding courses. The production practices in enterprises may be carried out in part according to the requirement of the progress of teaching. Various branches should pay great attention to the practices of their affiliated school and should be responsible for appointing industrial enterprises and, moreover, definite responsible persons in the industrial enterprises, who as directors, should testify as to the results of students' practice.

c. In order to foster experts who will have theoretical knowledge and attain a definite scientific level, it is necessary to include in the curricula special subjects that will enable the students to become future experts. For these special subjects, study hours and periods for organized classes should be precisely stipulated.

d. The phenomenon of over-crowded subjects is to be stamped out by effecting reasonable simplification of the curricula. New teaching plans and outlines should be made in accordance with the basic contents of special sciences and the fundamental needs of special businesses. In the original curricula, harmful and useless subjects should be abolished, subjects whose existence is of no consequence should be decreased to the minimum, and useful subjects should be added and strengthened. The contents of the special courses which the sophomore and junior classes will begin to learn should be very elastic so that the teaching personnel may supplement them with new materials selected from the recent scientific and technical achievements.

e. The subjects of study in the higher schools are of four kinds: 1) common required courses: political science, Chinese language, Russian language, physical education; 2) fundamental courses; 3) specialized courses; and 4) selective courses (for example, those who study history in teachers college should take geography as a selective course since history teachers in middle schools usually teach geography at the same time. These courses are also for advanced study by outstanding students).

For the political course, the same contents and class periods should be adopted as stipulated by the North China Higher Education Committee. The Chinese language is to be taught three hours a week for a period of one year. The Russian language is to be studied three or four hours a week for a period of four years, but various schools may, according to the concrete situation, concentrate the subject-matter so that the whole course will be completed in the first two years, at the end of which time the students should have the ability to read Russian books. Physical education is to be given two hours every week throughout the entire school year.

With respect to the distribution of subjects and class periods for the fundamental and specialized courses, various schools may

submit preliminary plans according to actual needs, and then the Cultural and Educational Committee will, in conjunction with various branches concerned, invite experts to make unified plans, which will finally be promulgated for enforcement by various higher schools.

f. The period of study for higher schools should not be less than 40 weeks every year with six study days a week. The stipulated daily study hours should at most not exceed 10 (including class, experiments and fixed self-study hours), and the rest of the time is for voluntary work, leisure time and rest.

2) Problems of teaching materials.

a. The old teaching materials and special scientific books of various higher schools throughout the country are to be collected, examined and edited for teaching use. The teachers of various courses should exert their utmost to compile their own lectures in accordance with the teaching plans and outlines. Those lecture notes which are found satisfactory in teaching may be published at the recommendation of the school authorities with the approval of the Cultural and Educational Committee, and due encouragement shall be given to the authors.

b. An Editorial and Translation Board is to be set up by the Cultural and Educational Committee to organize the necessary means for translating in a planned manner Soviet teaching materials in conjunction with the Central Publications Administration.

3) Problems of improving and fostering teaching personnel.

a. The improvement of teaching personnel has an important bearing on the raising of the quality and quantity of education. Consequently, the study and research work of teachers shall be strengthened, and for the time being equal importance should be attached to continued ideological reform and special scientific research. In order to overcome the phenomenon of opposition between scientific research and political study, it is necessary to unify the political study with scientific research to such an extent that the teachers will learn to employ Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thoughts in the investigation of all scientific theories, and will also learn to make science serve the people.

b. The study and research work of the teachers should proceed in a planned manner under the unified leadership of the schools. Plans for political study and special scientific research should be made, and condensed reports on study and research should be submitted periodically. The leadership should solve such difficulties in the teachers' study and research work as shortage of time and lack of materials.

Beside study and research in the schools, the teachers should also organize in a planned manner visits and tours, introduce in a planned manner situations relating to productive construction and technical development, organize special scientific conferences, open up connections with the scientific research institutions both inside and outside the country, and should especially learn from the Soviet Union, so as to interchange experiences and absorb new scientific discoveries. Valuable special research should be given the support of both manpower and material resources as well as due encouragement.

c. In order to foster new teaching personnel various higher schools may enroll graduate students, who must pass entrance examinations and have definite study aims and plans, and for whom special tutors shall be appointed.

d. Cadres who hold administrative posts in higher schools at present, but who may be qualified as special scientific teachers, should be encouraged to develop in this direction. Old cadres should particularly enhance their level of knowledge in scientific theories, so as to raise their ability to handle special problems.

4) Improvement of teaching methods and study organizations.

a. It is still an important concern to the general teaching personnel to overcome the deviations of the old education which exist in the teaching methods, viz. dogmatism and formalism detached from reality and life. But on the other hand, it is also necessary to guard against and overcome the narrow pragmatism of slighting theoretical study which may have arisen (being found to exist in the leadership of individual schools). This deviation, which had in the old education the pragmatic educational viewpoint of James and Dewey of the US as its background and has had in some places of the old liberated areas empiricism as its background, is comparatively liable to grow and must not be overlooked.

b. The individual learning and mass study of the students outside the classrooms should be properly coordinated. It is improper either to slight individual learning or to overemphasize group study. Group study should be limited to important questions for which the students have made full preparations; and it is impossible to rely solely on group study for enhancing the results of individual learning.

c. Sufficient study time shall be given to the students. Consequently, there should not be too many extra-class social activities. The working posts held by the students are generally to be limited to one for each and the extra-class social activities generally cannot exceed four hours a week, so that the students may fully utilize the self-study period in the evening. Meetings on holidays cannot exceed half a day at most. Within class periods, work and meetings of a social nature are absolutely prohibited.

d. The students should be encouraged to form the habit of original thinking, of observing and investigating of reading reference books as well as of intellectual labor.

5) Strengthening of theoretical political education.

a. Theoretical political education is the basic characteristic of the new education. The phenomenon of slighting political study, which is growing among some of the students due to the importance attached to the study of business, must be assiduously overcome.

b. The short-term political education given in the past to new students after their enrollment may still be carried out according to the concrete situation, and the period for it is also to be determined according to the situation. The aim of such an education is to establish as a basis an accurate study attitude and methods so as to facilitate the formal carrying out of business education.

c. The political course as stipulated in the teaching plan must definitely solve theoretical problems. Consequently, it is necessary to link up regularly and closely the students' concrete thoughts with their living and to establish a regular system of criticism and self-criticism.

d. The administration of the schools, in close coordination with various social organizations in the schools, should regularly inspect the thoughts of the students and formulate education plans in a unified and coordinated manner.

6) Books, instruments and various equipment of laboratories, practicing workshops and farms should be replenished. Under the difficult financial conditions, the schools should save other expenditures in order to get the equipment most needed at the present time.

7) The leadership should exert its main effort on leading the teaching work. The enthusiasm and initiative of the entire educational working personnel should be roused for the betterment of education.

8) The organic inter-relationship and coordination between the three units of school education, industrial production and scientific research are to be gradually attained. The special personnel employed in these three units may be interchanged without any restriction under the principle that the work of the units

concerned is not affected, so as to form close associations and attain enhanced results.

9) The schools should attach great attention to the health of the students, regularly inspect the sanitary conditions in the schools and organize students' athletic activities.

III. Fostering of Working and Peasant Intellectuals

ACCORDING to the situation of the Northeast, the policy set by the Central Education Ministry that all universities and middle schools should open their doors to workers and peasants may be immediately tried out in the higher schools:

1) By division of the task with the Workers and Peasants Middle Schools, a part of the working and peasant cadres who have a comparatively high cultural level are to be selected in a planned manner during the summer vacation and sent directly to universities; or working and peasant preparatory classes are to be set up and promoted in the universities after one or two years' supplementary study.

2) A part of the technical workers and peasant cadres having production experiences are to be chosen in a planned manner to attend special classes set up for them in engineering and agricultural schools, so that on the one hand they are given the education of culture and science and on the other their production experiences are summed up and enhanced to enrich the actual materials in teaching.

3) The Northeast Administrative College is to be reorganized as the Northeastern People's University, which is scheduled to open formally next term after preparation work is finished and the requisite conditions are created in the first half of the year. The new university is to be run on the line of the Chinese People's University with emphasis laid on the fostering of worker and peasant cadres.

4) Various higher schools should create conditions for the enrollment in large numbers of graduates from the Workers and Peasants Middle Schools two or three years later.

IV. Fostering of Experts in Russian Language

1) The Harbin Foreign Language College is to enlarge its enrollment to 2,000; the Russian Language College of Dairen University to 500; and the Northeastern University will set up a Russian Language Department to enroll 300 to 500 students.

2) In order to foster various specialized translation personnel, the higher schools may set up Russian classes for those selected from among the students and assistant instructors, who have a good foundation in both the Chinese language and scientific knowledge as well as a talent for foreign language. They are expected to become expert translators within two years.

V. Readjustment and Enrollment Plan of Higher Schools

1) After the Northeast Administrative College is transformed into the Northeastern People's University, apart from the existing departments, new departments of factory administration, finance, banking, accounting, cooperatives and so on will be gradually added. The same school system, curricula and teaching materials will be adopted as those stipulated for the Chinese People's University. Besides, the People's University shall also be responsible for the training by turns of employed cadres.

2) The Northeastern University will be renamed the Northeastern Teachers College with the Department of Geology abolished and the Department of Education added. Besides, specialized courses and short-term training classes will be established, and the college will also take charge of the training by turns of employed middle school teachers. The teaching plans and curricula of the Northeastern University should be improved entirely according to the needs of fostering middle school teaching personnel.

3) The Mining and Metallurgical Department of Dairen University is to be reorganized as the Metallurgical Department, due to insufficient material conditions.

4) The Harbin Engineering College can adopt the school system and teaching materials of the Soviet Union, due to advantageous conditions.

5) According to the actual conditions and the present construction needs in the borderland, the Border University will be reorganized to consist of a Teachers College, College of Medicine and Agricultural High School, with the College of Engineering abolished.

6) For the sake of concentrating manpower and material resources, the departments of schools of a similar nature should be established on the basis of scientific division of work and readjusted accordingly.

7) Enrollment problems.

a. Due to the limited resources of funds and students, in 1950 emphasis shall be laid on the development of the engineering colleges. Medical colleges will not be developed for the time being. The enrollment plans of other colleges should also be subject to the approval of the Northeastern People's Government.

b. The entrance examinations for new students this summer will be held on a unified basis and the matriculated students will also be distributed on a unified basis.

c. The various branches of the Northeastern Government are asked to form before May concrete plans for the fostering of cadres in their affiliated higher schools as well as the development and construction plans (including various material equipment) for these schools within the next three years.

VI. Leadership Relations

THE leadership relations of the higher schools have been decided as double leadership, i.e. the Cultural and Educational Committee will be responsible for the unified leadership in the policies, plans and systems of various higher schools, while the regular business, the control of educational expenditures and routine administration will be led by various government branches concerned so as to facilitate closer connections with actual business. The concrete stipulations are: The Mukden Engineering College and the Harbin Engineering College are led by the Industry Department; the Mukden and Harbin Agricultural Colleges by the Agriculture and Forestry Department; the China Medical College and the Harbin Medical College by the Public Health Department; the Northeastern Teachers College (the Northeast University), the Northeastern People's University (Administrative College) and the Border University by the Education Department; Lu Shun Arts College by the Cultural Department; the Dairen University by the Administrative Headquarters of Port Arthur and Dairen. Other schools are still under the leadership of various government branches as formerly.

The various branches should take the leadership of their affiliated higher schools as an important task, regularly inspect these schools and give them concrete guidance. The heads of various government branches should take the chief responsibility of the leadership of the affiliated schools. Hereafter, the directions given to various higher schools by the Cultural and Educational Committee are to be executed by the controlling branches, and the applications for instruction submitted by various higher schools are also to pass through the controlling branches, so as to make a clear demarcation of the responsibilities and to simplify the process for the solution of any problems. The working report of various higher schools must be submitted simultaneously to the Cultural and Educational Committee as well as to the controlling branches.

— *REVIEW TRANSLATION*

BOOKS OF INTEREST

PEOPLE IN COLONIES *by Kumar Goshal, Sheridan House Publishers, New York City, Price US$3.50, pages 300. Reviewed by C. S.*

FOR the Chinese people who have had first-hand experience with the forces of imperialism, it is nothing new to learn that colonial and semi-colonial countries are kept in subjugation for the profits of the imperialist powers.

How this came about and why millions of people are fighting to throw off the yoke of exploitation are the questions this author answers. He shows the "divide and conquer" policy of pitting princes against each other; the expropriation of land by forcing aborigines to sign documents which they did not understand; the economic penetration which resulted in a miserable wage scale for the natives while guaranteeing an abnormally high rate of profit for investors in the parent countries.

Looking at the colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America before the second world war, he points out certain characteristics common to all of them.

They remained predominantly agricultural countries, exporters of raw material and importers of consumer goods. Land in the colonies was held, usually, by feudalistic landlords. The tenants and laborers were poor beyond description and invariably in debt to either the landlord or the money-lender, who were often one and the same. Industry was practically nonexistent in the colonies.

Poverty forced the colonial people to work for a pittance in mines, plantations, estates and factories. Where necessary, as in Africa, imperialist governments passed laws to ensure a cheap labor supply. By the use of cheap labor and through special privileges granted by the governments, foreign capital investment reaped high rates of profit.

In many colonies trade unions were barred by legal and extra-legal means.

Thus, says the author, "poverty, illiteracy, disease and debt were the common denominators of the colonial countries." And he gives plenty of facts to show that the so-called "enlightened" policy of the colonial powers is so much eyewash. Take a few of Britain's colonies, for example, where conditions are no better nor worse than those exploited by France, Belgium and other powers.

He quotes from two reports submitted to the British Colonial Office, one made by its Labor Adviser and the other by the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire.

TRINIDAD: "Existing diets are of low caloric value and render the consumer unfit for heavy manual work over long periods."

JAMAICA: "The nutritional state of a distressingly large proportion of the laboring classes and of the children is considered by some observers to be definitely bad. . . . Conditions are aggravated by the prevalence of yaws, hookworm and malaria. The average rate of infection with hookworm disease is about 70 percent in smaller towns and 96 percent in many rural areas."

BRITISH HONDURAS: "Hookworm infestation and malaria take an enormous total; anemia, due to the above disease and deficient diet, is very prevalent."

THE BAHAMAS: "Pellegra is very prevalent and malnutrition accounts for a great deal of illness and debility."

So it went for the whole list of subjugated peoples. And what did the colonial powers do about it? They apologized. They said the subject peoples were uncivilized, and were much worse off before being conquered than afterward.

* * *

BUT the Second World War showed the colonial people that their former masters were not all-powerful. France, Great Britain, the Netherlands left many of their Asian colonies to bear the Japanese attacks alone. This has changed the whole picture for the colonial peoples. They had a chance to organize themselves, to become guerilla fighters, to set up people's committees and even to carry out land reform in the areas under their control.

We know already the fate of imperialist powers in China. We can see that the fight against feudalism and imperialism is growing stronger day by day in Asia and that it is only a matter of time when this same fight will become a strongly organized one in other colonial countries.

The author saw this also in 1948 when he wrote the book. At the same time he had some hope that the United Nations would improve the conditions of the oppressed peoples, though he saw the power politics within the UN and understood that imperialist powers, including the US, do not give up easily the profits they squeeze by exploiting millions of people.

"People in Colonies" is an exciting book. It deserves the widest circulation possible. The publishers have recently announced they are making it available at a special

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Cable Address: "Reviewing" Shanghai - - Telephone: 14772

Published at 160 Yenan Road (Eastern), Shanghai (0), China, by Millard Publishing Company, Incorporated under the Laws of the State of Delaware, U.S.A. Printed by Millington Limited, 117 Hongkong Road, Shanghai, China.

discount price of US$1.00 by ordering through the progressive newsweekly, NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray Street, New York 7, New York, U.S.A.

NEW CHINA'S WOMEN

TWO pamphlets have been published by the Foreign Languages Press in Peking on the new position of women in China. WOMEN IN NEW CHINA gives a short history of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women and a sketch of some of its leaders including Tsai Chang, the chairman.

The second half of the pamphlet is devoted to a brief description of the Chinese women's inferior status under the traditional feudal system, their bitter sufferings under the Kuomintang, their struggles for emancipation and finally their new life in the Liberated Areas.

FROM STRUGGLE TO VICTORY gives the life stories of 16 fighting heroines of new China. These revolutionary women include Fifth Sister Hou, a cigarette peddler; Tung Li-sheng, stretcher bearer heroine; and Lee Yu-chen, a woman company commander.

These moving accounts portraying steadfast devotion to the revolutionary cause are testimony to the reason for the people's victory. They show that the years of protracted war and struggle have brought forth many outstanding women leaders who are now devoting their energies to the emancipation of all Chinese women from the centuries of feudalism.

LETTERS

(Continued from Page 2)

ing and other base crimes.

In the face of overwhelming evidence, the accused confessed their misdeeds. One brazen fellow tried to appeal for a lighter sentence but the crowd expressed its fury at him.

The chief judge sentenced them to death and the crowd loudly expressed its approval.

Such a public trial serves as a good lesson to the unrepentant KMT spies who can see there are only two courses open to them: one is to turn over a new leaf and work for the people's democracy; the other is to descend to an ignominious grave.

In addition, the trial showed all the people the danger of KMT spies, who are supported by American imperialism.

LI TSUNG-RUNG.

National Chekiang University,
Hangchow
December 11, 1950

STRETCH YOUR HAND

To the Editor:

The winter clothes drive for flood refugees has spread all over this city. Every organization has taken heed of this serious problem. Many flood refugees must have warm clothes to withstand the bitter winter.

In the course of helping the liberation war, these people have made a great contribution. Now they need our support.

In our school a worker took off his coat and said smiling, "The welfare of the refugees is very important. What does this old shabby coat mean to me?" Moreover, several students who have been receiving subsidies have contributed part of them. One of my faculty members gave his gold ring to buy winter clothes.

We must all keep pace with them. Please stretch your hand and support the refugees with all your might.

LIU TSEH WU

Chuichow, Chekiang
November 30, 1850

PEKING'S WORKERS

To the Editor:

Workers here in the capital number about 400,000. The liberation of Peking to them meant "losing their chains and gaining the whole world," so to speak.

For the past year and nine months, the workers have indeed displayed to the best of their ability an active spirit in carrying out their glorious task of building up the people's capital. Labor heroes have emerged from the emulation campaigns in production and these workers have contributed immensely to the retrenchment of the government expenditures through their improvement in production tools and technical skills and by means of their inventions.

Because of the speeding up of productive forces, new records have been made in almost every factory and enterprise. For example, the state-owned Shih Ching Shan Steel plant now exceeds its former highest record under the Kuomintang by 73 percent.

The production plan of the waterworks, with the aim of supplying 400,000 residents with water in 1950, has been overfulfilled as 440,000 inhabitants are now being serviced by the waterworks. This means that not only more than 84 percent of the city's population is supplied water, but also residents of the nine districts of Men Tu Ku about 13 miles west of Peking have been receiving the city's water supply since the end of October.

Asphalt roads have increased in number and tramcars no longer torment their passengers who formerly had to wait an endless time.

All these facts amply prove that the workers have strength so long as they are politic-

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

For readers in China who wish to keep abreast of developments in America, the *National Guardian* may be ordered through the *China Monthly Review* for JMP63,000 a year, second class postage included.

THE REVIEW'S ENGLISH LESSONS

A COLLECTION of 20 English Lessons, originally appearing in the *China Weekly Review*, now published in pamphlet form. Covering a wide variety of subjects, the English Lessons make interesting reading matter for those people who are politically-minded. They are particularly useful to those who want to learn modern idiomatic English by the self-taught method.

Obtainable at the *China Monthly Review*, 160 Yenan Road, Shanghai (上海延安東路一六〇號密勒氏評論報) JMP2,500 per copy, including postage. Discount of 20 percent for group purchases of 20 copies or more.

ally conscious of their position.

After liberation they learned to respect each other in their daily life. Formerly they were oppressed and felt they had no place to make the best use of their abilities. Thus, it was a common occurence to call each other names and even get into blows over trivial matters.

Today everything is different. They see a bright future in store for them and work more enthusiastically than ever before. The method of criticism and self-criticism has been applied in their work. They now understand that their relationship to each other is one of mutual help and fraternity.

Their next step has been to improve their cultural level. Of the organized 186,000 workers, there are already 118,000 who have participated in various study groups and courses to learn politics and improve their technique. Now many of them are able to send in contributions to the daily papers.

With the elevation of their political consciousness and cultural level, they are losing the backward ideas which many held formerly. They no longer look down on women, who under the support of the Communist Party have been trained to participate even in heavy industries.

It is with great indignation that the workers have learned of US aggression in Korea, which has spread to the borders of the nation. Hundreds of them wrote letters to the Peking newspapers expressing their fury over America's actions. Some of them wrote that they want to go to Korea to help the Korean people fight against the imperialists who attacked Korea without the least provocation on the part of the Korean people.

P. Y. WANG.

Peking,
December 18, 1950

PEOPLE'S POETRY

To the Editor:

The enclosed is a translation of a short poem by Jan Chern appeared in Vol. 11, No. 4 of the People's Literature.

Hand in hand,
Heart linked with heart,
We are against the war of aggression,
We are against the war of aggression,
From every inch of land springs up a flame of revenge;
Every fist is aimed at our enemy.
Fight heroically, fellow-countrymen!
Raise high the huge flag of liberty!
Drive the invading bandits out of our country!

Hand in hand,
Heart linked with heart,
We are against the war of aggression,
We are against the war of aggression.
Our sacred fatherland never shall be sold by the reactionaries;
Our beautiful country never shall be overrun by the Yankees.
Fight heroically, fellow-countrymen!
The sorrowful lands must be liberated!
The final victory must belong to the righteous people!

LEE SING

National Peking University
November 27, 1950

The Month's Business

Prices continued to remain stable during the past month. Import and export firms have been greatly effected by the US ban on export of supplies to people's China. However, the domestic industries continue to make rapid strides in increasing their output.

* * *

GENERAL stability prevailed in the Shanghai market during the month under review from November 15 to December 15. Prices for quite a number of essential commodities actually registered declines, as indicated in the wholesale commodity price index, which was reduced from 896.64 for the second ten days of November to 882.17 for the last ten days of the same month, and further down to 879.22 for the first ten days of December.

Remarkable from the listing of commodity prices were the increases in the quotations of wheat flour and coal. The rise in the prices of flour was stimulated by firm trend in outports, while coal prices edged up mainly through heavy demand, and manipulation to some extent.

Irregular and sharp increases, the result of speculative activities on the part of unscrupulous merchants, were also recorded during the month for the prices of glass and bleaching powder, but these prices were shortly brought down under the tightened control by the relevant authorities and the abundant supply dumped onto the market by state organs.

To encourage savings, the Shanghai Branch of the People's Bank reinstituted the prize savings deposit from December 1. At the same time it scrapped the parity deposit system in view of the stabilized commodity prices and the popularity gained in the inflation and deflation-proof deposits.

Developments in the international situation have obviously increased the difficulties of the local import and export trade, since the United States and other countries under its influence are now enforcing rigid control on the export of supplies to this and other people's democratic countries. As things stand, importers and exporters of new China must find their outlet by exploiting trade relations with Soviet Russia and other new democratic countries.

Commencing from December 18, the Shanghai Branch of the Bank of China discontinued quoting rates for TT and notes of US currency, while the collection of US dollar notes was also suspended.

In the meantime, turning to the domestic industries, rapid strides have been made in their development. The private cotton mills of Shanghai reported sharp increases in their output, which reached 113,000 pieces in November. According to estimates, the textile output in 1950 will reach 97 percent of the highest record established previous to the outbreak of the War of Resistance, and will represent an increase of 14 percent when compared with 1936. The textile output plan slated for 1951 is to exceed the prewar highest record by 28 percent.

Shanghai's woolen textile mills have reported recent success in utilizing domestic wool for their manufacturing, and production among other factories has been considerably stepped up. With the Anti-US Imperialist and Aid-Korea movement coming into full swing, a production emulation drive has been launched among most of Shanghai's industrial plants.

Issuance of the New Year bonus is being smoothly carried out among the industrial and commercial circles, which are in much better shape than a year ago.

Quotations

Following is a listing of essential commodity prices on November and December 15, 1950:

	Nov. 15 JMP	Dec. 15 JMP
Parity unit	5,006	4,984
US dollar (TT)	31,000	31,000
Rice (2nd grade)	138,000	108,000
Wheat flour	77,000	80,000
20's yarn	5,880,000	5,850,000
12-lb cloth	235,000	235,000
Hweinan coal	280,000	340,000
Soap	209,000	198,000
Raw silk	13,400,000	13,600,000

Letter From Shanghai

SHANGHAI'S students, always in the fore of national mass movements, have been one of the more active groups in the current campaign against US aggression in Asia. On December 9, more than 100,000 Shanghai students marked the 15th anniversary of the protest movement over the Kuomintang sell-out to the Japanese whereby the latter received a free hand in east Hopeh province. This 1935 movement laid the foundation for organized nation-wide resistance to Japanese aggression. The KMT regarded the students as "dangerous" and, like the workers, they were subjected to Chiang's oppression and brutality. Today they are firm supporters of their government. As such they have unfolded a movement to rid China's universities of the relics of American imperialistic influence.

It may be difficult for the American people to realize but for years Americans, through missionary schools in China and the Chinese students who studied in the US, have been greatly influential in making educational policy in China. Missionary schools in many instances were staffed by American personnel, many of whom were more than disinterested observers in the political and cultural education of the Chinese students. At such schools English was the "official" language. In most other countries, including the United States, if a foreign instructor teaches, unless it is a foreign language course, he is expected to teach in the language of the country he is in. In China, even courses in Chinese history were taught in English, from texts written by foreign professors.

Listening to accounts of the manner in which Chinese students were subjected to American "culture" would open the eyes of the American people. Chinese customs and manners were frowned upon and the washing-machine culture, which a large portion of the American public never attains because of low income, was held up as the apex to strive for. To dress like an American, talk like an American, dance like an American, read American movie magazines became an all-important goal in life.

Recently the Chinese papers have published a copy of a letter by a former high ranking American member of the administration of the American-endowed St. John's University in Shanghai. This letter, written by James A. Pott, acting vice-president, on August 7, 1948, was addressed to a Chinese professor ordering him to submit a blacklist of the students who were active in the then prevalent student movement against America's rebuilding of Japanese militarism.

Today things are different. There is no obedient KMT to rush in and beat up students. And the immediate reaction of Chinese students has been to get rid of the vestiges of the former marks of foreign domination.

Already the American press, referring to the Chinese people's movement against American imperialism, is beclouding the issue. Scare headlines refer to "anti-Americanism in China." Nothing could be further from the truth.

The avowed policy of the Chinese and their government is anti-American imperialism and not against the American people. Because the enemy of China is imperialism and not the American people there is a clear-cut distinction. Like other foreigners in China, Americans are treated according to the law.

* * *

FOR the first time in 30 years American movies are not being shown in Shanghai. Up until about a year ago nearly 90 percent of those shown were American. From the start of movies in China the American pictures, catering to a small minority with money, dominated the scene to the detriment of the Chinese movie industry.

As public opinion aligned itself against American movies it became apparent that considerable thought was given to prohibiting showing them. Aside from the local foreigners and a few foreignized Chinese who are hard put to find any other type of public entertainment, the public clamor against US movies revealed that the demand of the great majority was to stop showing them. In addition to calls by numerous mass organizations and letters to the editors, newspapers carried articles analyzing the role and effect of Hollywood on China.

One of the most frequently listed complaints was the manner in which typical Hollywood products hit the younger generation and, just as in America, they have served as the breeder of adolescent gangs devoted to crime.

Another often mentioned reason was the false picture presented of America itself, leading the uninformed to regard it as a land of milk and honey. Still another was the chauvinistic glorification, in so many movies, of US armed forces and in particular the portrayals of the white race and the Americans as the "herrenvolk," the leaders of "natives." The presentation of the American Negro as an inferior or a clown does not go well with a people who have fresh memories of foreigners lording it over them.

Gloomy predictions to the contrary, the refusal of Shanghai movie houses to show American pictures has not resulted in an audience dearth. Three pictures, two Chinese and one Soviet, playing at around 10 of Shanghai's first-run theaters simultaneously during December regularly played to full houses. The movies were "Decay," based on a famous novel about Kuomintang undercover agents during the Japanese War and written by one of China's first-rank novelists, Mao Tun; "72 Tenants," a comedy containing many of Shanghai's top stage comedians; and "The Fall of Berlin," a Soviet movie in color which traces the Russian people's resistance to Germany's attack to final victory.

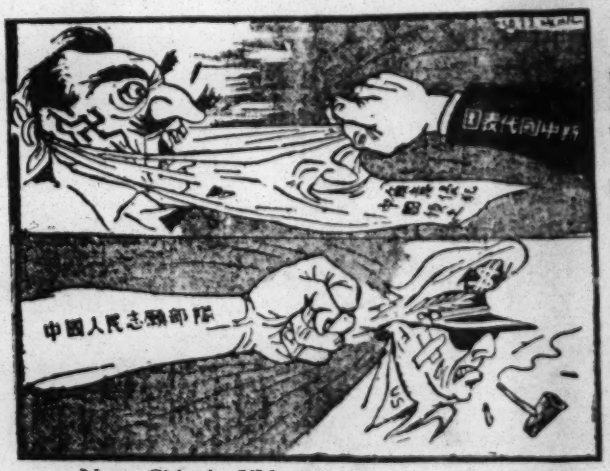
— *J. S.*

CARTOONS
OF THE MONTH

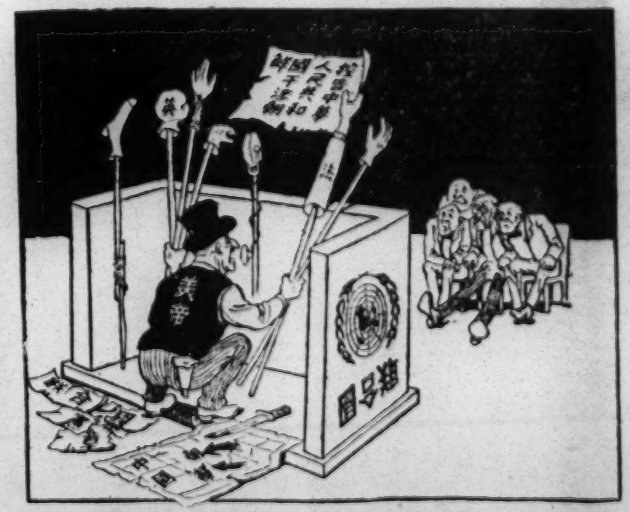
Two Camps: The strength of mankind which is behind the world peace drive versus the forces of a war of aggression.

Influence of American movies in China

Truman's garden being nourished by the latest US military expenditure program



New China's UN delegates expose Acheson's claim of "no aggressive designs on China" and the Chinese people's volunteers strike in Korea.



American imperialism gets the UN to accuse the Chinese People's Republic of involvement in Korea.

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Supplement to China Monthly Review, January 1951

FULL TEXT OF WU HSIU-CHUAN'S SPEECH IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

WU Hsiu-chuan, representative of the People's Republic of China, delivered the following speech on November 28, 1950 to the United Nations Security Council:

Mr President, Members of the Security Council.

On the instructions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I am here, in the name of the 475,000,000 people of China, to accuse the United States Government of the unlawful and criminal act of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan—including the Penghu Islands (the Pescadores). (Hereafter I shall refer to Taiwan as including the Penghu Islands). Members of the Security Council, please note the fact that such is the clear and specific mission which I am authorized to carry out here. I have brought with me the full text of the cable reply dated November 11, 1950 of Chou En-lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, to Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations. The last part of the cablegram reads:

"In view of the gravity of the two questions of armed intervention in Korea and aggression against Chinese Taiwan by the United States Government, and in view of the fact that the two questions are closely related, it would be most proper that the Security Council combine the discussion of the accusation raised by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against armed aggression on Taiwan by the United States Government and the discussion of the question of armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government, so that the representative of the People's Republic of China when attending the meetings of the Security Council to discuss the 'complaint against armed aggression on Taiwan,' may raise at the same time the accusation against armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government."

But there is nothing in common between Item B of the Agenda of the Security Council and the above proposal of Minister of Foreign Affairs Chou. Therefore, the representative of the Chinese People's Republic will decidedly not participate in the discussion of Item B, the so-called "complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea."

In principle, this charge brought by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, of aggression against Taiwan by the United States Government, should have been lodged by the delegate to the Security Council of the People's Republic of China as a permanent member of the Security Council. But owing to the manipulation and obstruction by the United States Government, the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China have been, and are still being, excluded from the United Nations. Therefore, I must first of all protest to the United Nations for tolerating even to this day the so-called "delegate" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique who still unashamedly sits here in our midst, professing to be representing the Chinese people. Members of the Security Council, this is a state of affairs that the Chinese people cannot possibly tolerate.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, on the occasion of the establishment of the government on October 1, 1949, solemnly declared to the whole world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government to represent all the people of China.

The tremendous achievements of the People's Republic of China during the past year in military, economic, political and cultural construction have eloquently proved to the world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the Chinese people. The Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique, which opposes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, has long ceased to exist on the mainland of China. In the more than four years of war since the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique launched the full-scale civil war in July 1946 with the support of the United States Government, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has annihilated Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary armies totalling 8,070,000 and liberated all the territories of China except Tibet and Taiwan.

During the past year, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has united the whole people in various walks of life, has established local governments of all levels throughout the country and has effectively controlled the mainland of China. The Central People's Government, as a government of all China, is unprecedented in Chinese history in that it is unified, stable and supported by the people. Even the enemy of the Chinese people cannot but admit this fact.

Furthermore, the Kuomintang reactionary government has long since collapsed and ceased to exist. Even its remnant elements have also been driven out of the mainland of China by the Chinese people. At present, it is only owing to the armed protection of the United States that they are maintaining their precarious existence in Taiwan. But they have long been renounced by the Chinese people and have no longer any grounds, de jure or de facto, to represent the Chinese people. The so-called "delegates" to the United Nations of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are nothing but the personal tools of a handful of fugitive elements that will soon be entirely eliminated. They have no qualifications whatsoever to represent the Chinese people.

Since November 15, 1949, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai has repeatedly demanded that the United Nations expel the so-called "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique from all the organs and meetings of the United Nations and admit the delegates of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. But until now, in spite of the vigorous support of the USSR and other countries for the seating of the delegates of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the affirmative votes of 16 member states of the United Nations, namely the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Burma, Israel, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Byelo-Russia, the Ukraine, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Norway—yet, owing to the manipulation and obstruction of the United States Government, the United Nations still refuses to admit our lawful delegates. As a result, the so-called "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still sitting on the Security Council and in other organs of the United Nations. Against this, we cannot but lodge a grave protest.

Members of the Security Council, I would like to remind you that so long as the United Nations persists in denying admittance to a permanent member of the Security Council who represents 475,000,000 people, it cannot make lawful decisions on any major issues or solve any major problems, particularly those which concern Asia. Indeed, without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, representing 475,000,000 people, the United Nations cannot in practice be worthy of its name. Without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people have no obligation to abide by any resolutions or decisions of the United Nations.

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I once more demand that the United Nations expel the so-called "delegates" of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique and admit the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China.

* * *

MEMBERS of the Security Council will recall that Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, on August 24, lodged with the United Nations Security Council a charge that the United States Government had committed armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan. But the United States Government used every means to obstruct the discussion by the Security Council of this just accusation. It was only thanks to the righteous stand of the Soviet delegate who was president of the Security Council during August and to the support of other countries that the charge by the People's Republic of China against United States armed aggression in Taiwan has now been placed on the agenda of the Security Council.

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Although owing to the opposition of the United States of America, the proposal is forced to appear in its present imperfect form as the "complaint of armed aggression against Taiwan (Formosa)."

After directing the puppet government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea to create civil war in Korea, President Truman of the United States made a statement on June 27, this year, declaring that the United States Government had decided to prevent by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, the United States armed forces on the orders of President Truman began the full-scale, open invasion of Taiwan to carry out the policy of the United States Government of preventing by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in a statement issued on June 28, 1950, pointed out that the June 27 statement by President Truman of the United States together with the actions of the United States armed forces constituted armed aggression on Chinese territory and a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. The Chinese people cannot tolerate such barbaric, illegal and criminal acts of aggression by the United States Government.

Members of the Security Council, the case for the charge filed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against the United States Government is irrefutable.

People of common sense know that Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. Long before Christopher Columbus discovered America, the Chinese people were already in Taiwan. Long before the United States achieved its independence, Taiwan had already become an inseparable part of the territory of China. Precisely because of this irrevocable historical fact that Taiwan is China's territory, civilized nations of the world have never conceded that the occupation of Taiwan by imperialist Japan during the 50 year period from 1895 to 1945 was justifiable. Moreover, the people of Taiwan have always opposed the rule of Japanese imperialism. During the 50 years under Japanese imperialist rule, the people in Taiwan lived like beasts of burden and underwent all the sufferings of a subject people. But, during these 50-years, the people in Taiwan had never ceased conducting a dauntless struggle against the alien rule of Japanese imperialism and for their return to the motherland. In their heroic struggle against Japanese imperialism, the people in Taiwan have written with blood and fire into the pages of history that they are a member of the great family of the Chinese nation. Even the White Paper, "United States' Relations with China," compiled by the United States Department of State has to admit:

"The native population for 50-years had been under the rule of a foreign invader and therefore welcomed the Chinese forces as liberators. During the Japanese occupation the principal hope of the people had been reunion with the mainland," (United States' Relations with China, p. 308).

Precisely because Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, the Cairo Declaration jointly signed on December 1, 1943 by the Governments of China, the United States of America and the United Kingdom explicitly stipulated that "it is their (the Three Great Powers) purpose . . . that all territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

Taiwan is an integral part of China. This is not only an unshakable historical fact, but also one of the main aims for which the Chinese people unitedly fought against imperialist Japan. This aim was reflected in the above-mentioned Cairo Declaration. Moreover, the Cairo Declaration is a solemn international commitment which the United States Government has pledged itself to observe. As one of the principal provisions concerning the unconditional surrender of Japan, this solemn international commitment was again laid down in the Potsdam Declaration which was jointly signed on July 26, 1945, by China, the United States and Great Britain, and which was subsequently adhered to by the Soviet Union. Section 8 of the Potsdam Declaration states:

"The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limted to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine."

On September 2, 1945, Japan signed the instrument of surrender, the first article of which explicitly provided that Japan accept the "provisions in the Declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on July 26, 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." When the Chinese Government accepted the surrender of the Japanese armed forces in Taiwan and exercised sovereignty over the island, Taiwan became not only de jure but also de facto, an inalienable part of Chinese territory. And this has been the situation as regards Taiwan since 1945. Hence, during the five post-war years from 1945 to June 27, 1950, no one ever questioned the fact that Taiwan, de jure or de facto, is an inseparable part of Chinese territory.

This state of affairs was so clear that even President Truman of the United States could not but admit on January 5, 1950:

"In the Joint Declaration at Cairo on December 1, 1943, the President of the United States, the British Prime Minister and the President of China stated that it was their purpose that territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Formosa, should be restored to the Republic of China.

"The United States was a signatory to the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which declared that the terms of the Cairo Declaration should be carried out. The provisions of this Declaration were accepted by Japan at the time of its surrender . . . .

"For the past four years the United States and the Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island.

"The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory . . . nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China."

That is to say, even President Truman admitted that Taiwan is Chinese territory.

Thus it can be seen that there is no room for the slightest doubt that Taiwan is an inseparable part of Chinese territory. Nevertheless, the United States Government had the audacity to declare its decision to use armed force to prevent the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and to despatch its armed forces in a large-scale, open invasion of Taiwan.

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MEMBERS of the Security Council: The fact that the United States has used armed forces to invade Taiwan requires no investigation, because the United States Government itself has frankly admitted this fact. In announcing the afore-mentioned decision, President Truman first ordered the United States 7th Fleet to invade our territorial waters around Taiwan. Since then the United States Government has never denied the fact that the United States 7th Fleet invaded Chinese territory, Taiwan. The United States armed forces have not only invaded Chinese territory, Taiwan, but have also violated China's territorial waters and territorial air along our coast and beyond, conducting active reconnaissance and patrols. According to a dispatch filed by the New York **Herald Tribune** correspondent at Taipei on July 24, "The Fleet has a beat extending from Swatow in South China to Tsingtao in North China, 1,000-mile coastline . . . "

At the same time, the United States Government has never denied the invasion of Taiwan by the United States 13th Air Force. These United States naval and air units which invaded Taiwan, jointly with the United States aggression forces in Korea, have extended and are still extending their acts of aggression beyond Taiwan to the territorial waters and territorial air along the coast of China's mainland. I shall deal further with these facts later.

Having declared and put into operation the policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, President Truman sent General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States armed forces in the Far East, to Taiwan to confer clandestinely with Chiang Kai-shek on concrete measures for using Taiwan as a base to wage war against the Chinese people. MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek decided that the land, naval and air forces of the United States and those of Chiang Kai-shek should be placed under the unified command of MacArthur for the "joint defense" of Taiwan. On his departure from Taiwan for Japan on August 1, MacArthur openly declared: "Arrangements have been completed for effective co-ordination between the American forces under my command and those of the Chinese Government (the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique)." And this is what Chiang Kai-shek said: "Agreement has been reached between General MacArthur and myself on all the problems discussed in the series of conferences held in the past two days. The foundation for a joint defense of

Formosa and for Sino-American military co-operation has thus been laid." In league with its puppet, the public enemy of the Chinese people—the Chiang Kai-shek brigands, the United States Government, which has invaded and occupied Taiwan, thus casts the gauntlet of war before the Chinese people.

Long before June 27, this year, the United States Government, through its puppet, had already carried out all kinds of aggressive activities against Taiwan, including acts of armed aggression. Now, of course, the United States Government is even more reckless than ever. The United States 13th Air Force has already established an "advanced command headquarters in Formosa," (according to a Taipei broadcast on August 10), which is operating at the air force headquarters of the Kuomintang bogus regime (according to a broadcast from Taipei on August 7). The United States 7th Fleet has set up a "naval liaison staff" in Taiwan (according to a Taipei United Press dispatch datelined July 24). In order to facilitate unified command of its naval and air aggression forces in Taiwan, the United States Government sent there an official military mission, named the "United States Far East Command Survey Group in Formosa." On October 3, this "survey group," was reportedly recalled to Japan and to all appearances seemed to have been disbanded. But everyone knows that this is nothing but an attempt to delude on the part of the United States Government. The United States armed forces, their commanding officers and military command posts are still there in Taiwan!

Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. The invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the armed forces of the United States Government constitutes an act of open, direct armed aggression against China by the United States Government.

There is not the slightest justification for the United States Government's invasion and occupation of Taiwan. Yet the United States Government had somehow to find a "justification" for the aggression. Thus we have the story that "the status of Taiwan is not yet determined," and that therefore the armed occupation of Taiwan by the United States cannot be regarded as invasion and occupation of Chinese territory by the United States. Is not this a "justification?" Did not President Truman declare at the time of issuing the order for armed aggression against Taiwan that "the determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations?"

Let us first deal with the question of the status of Taiwan and the peace treaty with Japan. Does it hold water to say that, since the status of Taiwan is not yet determined, the invasion of Taiwan by United States armed forces constitutes no aggression against China? No, it does not. Here we have in the first place the Truman of January 5, 1950, contradicting the Truman of June 27, 1950. On January 5, this year, Truman stated: "The United States and the other allied powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island." Surely at that time Mr. Truman did not consider that the peace treaty with Japan had already been signed! Then we have President Roosevelt contradicting Truman. On December 1, 1943, President Roosevelt solemnly declared in the Cairo Declaration that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China." Surely neither President Roosevelt nor anyone else at that time considered that in the absence of a peace treaty with Japan the Cairo Declaration would be invalid and that Manchuria, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands would remain in the possession of Japan! The facts of history over the past several centuries, and the situation during the five years since the surrender of Japan also go to contradict Truman, because the facts of history and the situation after the Japanese surrender have long determined the status of Taiwan as an integral part of China. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago; there is no such question as that of Taiwan's status.

Article 107 of the United Nations Charter clearly provides: "Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the governments having responsibility for such action." Therefore the United Nations has absolutely no right to alter the status of Taiwan, the less so when the question of the status of Taiwan does not exist. President Truman of the United States declared that the so-called question of the status of Taiwan must await consideration by the United Nations. After the People's Republic of China had charged the United States with armed aggression against Taiwan before the United Nations, the United States Government indicated that it would welcome consideration and investigation by the United Nations in regard to the question of Taiwan. The United States representative at the Fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly introduced the so-called "question of Formosa" and made use of its voting machine in the General Assembly to put this matter on the agenda. All these moves of the United States Government aim at stealing the name of the United Nations to legalize its illegal acts of armed aggression against Taiwan and to consolidate its actual occupation of Taiwan.

My government—the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China—has protested in strong terms to the United Nations General Assembly resolutely opposing the inclusion of the so-called "question of Formosa" concerning the status of Taiwan on the agenda of the General Assembly.

Whatever decision the United Nations General Assembly may take on the so-called question of the status of Taiwan—whether it be turning over the island to the United States to administer openly under the disguise of "trusteeship" or "neutralization," or whether it be procrastinating by the way of "investigation," thereby maintaining the present state of actual United States occupation—will in substance be alienating China's legitimate territory and supporting United States aggression against Taiwan in opposition to the Chinese people. Any such decision will be held unjustifiable and unlawful. Any such decision will in no way shake the resolve of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, nor will it prevent action by the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan.

I wish to call the attention of all those countries which are prepared to follow the United States on this question: Do not be taken in by the United States. Do not pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the United States—because if you support United States aggression, you must bear the consequences of your actions. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago. The question of the status of Taiwan simply does not exist. However, one question does exist regarding Taiwan, that is the question of armed aggression by the United States Government against the territory of China, Taiwan. Therefore, to argue that because the peace treaty with Japan is yet to be concluded, the status of Taiwan remains undetermined and must await consideration by the United Nations—to argue thus is to make a mockery of history, of realities, of human intelligence, of international agreements. To argue thus is to make a mockery of the United Nations Charter. This is a preposterous farce, unworthy of refutation, in which Truman makes a mockery of Truman himself.

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NEXT, I would like to say a few words about the absurd argument that United States aggression against Taiwan is aimed at safeguarding security in the Pacific. The United States Government has persistently circulated a fabrication to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a "temporary measure" arising from the Korean war and is intended to "localize" the Korean war and safeguard security in the Pacific. Therefore, according to the United States Government, "the determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific."

The civil war in Korea was created by the United States. But in no sense whatsoever can the civil war in Korea be used as a justification or pretext for United States aggression against Taiwan. Members of the Security Council, is it conceivable that because of the Spanish civil war, Italy was entitled to occupy the French territory of Corsica? Is it conceivable that civil war in Mexico would confer upon Great Britain the right to occupy the state of Florida of the United States? This is utterly absurd and inconceivable. In fact, the United States Government's policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, no less than its policy of armed aggression against Korea, had been decided upon long before the United States created civil war in Korea. Six days before the outbreak of the Korean civil war, that is, on June 19, 1950, the New York Times wrote in an editorial:

"It would seem, then, that the retention of some sort of bases for defending Japan was imperative. On the other hand, the old idea of three or four relatively isolated bases is, of course, nonsense . . .

"It may well be for reasons such as these that General MacArthur is, according to recent reports, ready to urge a co-ordinated defense pattern for the whole of the Western Pacific, and not merely for Japan alone. This revives the question of

what should or can be done about Formosa. There is a substantial body of opinion to the effect that the island can be held and that, although it is late, it is not too late . . .

"A vigorous defense program, on a regional basis, would therefore involve political decisions of the first order. It could require a reversal of our position on Formosa."

An item in the New York Post on June 27, went futher to say: "Before Johnson and Bradley went to Japan, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff had agreed upon a Far Eastern policy including the following two points: 1) No peace treaty with Japan for the next five years; 2) Adoption of all measures to prevent Formosa from falling into Communist hands."

A dispatch from Tokyo in the New York Herald Tribune of June 25, vividly revealed the specific details of this decision:

"A firm stand by the United States on Formosa would, according to Supreme Headquarters, have a 90 percent chance of deterring Communist invasion because the Chinese themselves are not ready for a head-on tilt with American power . . .

"Headquarters' officials believe that the Communists could be deterred from even starting an attack on Formosa if swift action were taken along about the following lines:

"A strong public pronouncement should be made by the United States that in the light of Soviet participation in Chinese military preparations and in the light of changed world conditions, the final disposition of Formosa—which was a former Japanese possession—must await a Japanese peace treaty. Until a treaty has been concluded, Formosa would be under American or United Nations jurisdiction. This pronouncement should be coupled with the dispatch of a large-scale military mission to Formosa with a limited supply of equipment. The amount of aid would be comparable to that given the Greek Government in its fight on guerrillas. There have also been suggestions that a military mission should be supplemented by a show of naval strength. One officer contended that the presence of a single aircraft carrier would certainly deter the Communists from attacking for a long time to come."

No further evidence on this point would appear necessary. Such important accounts regarding the United States Government have never been refuted by the United States Government and therefore must be accepted as reliable. What we have quoted above is already sufficient to show that the United States Government had decided upon its policy of armed aggression against Taiwan long before it created the war in Korea. Even the concrete steps to be taken in executing this policy, such as the issuance of a strong pronouncement, a show of naval strength, the dispatch of a military mission, etc., had been decided upon. The creation of civil war in Korea by the United States Government was designed solely to furnish a pretext for launching armed aggression against Korea and against our territory, Taiwan, and for tightening its control in Viet-Nam and in the Philippines.

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CLEARLY, in carrying out aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan under the pretext of the Korean civil war which was of its own making, the United States Government has vastly extended the scale of the Korean war. The series of provocations following the aggression against Korea and Taiwan by the United States armed forces have fully proved this point. The United States Government is carrying the flames of aggressive war to China according to plan.

Far from localizing it, this is on the contrary extending the Korean war. The Chinese people have consistently supported all proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for genuinely localizing the Korean war. The Chinese people also fervently hope for security in the Pacific area. But the Korean war has been extended and security in the Pacific has been shattered.

Who has been extending the Korean war? Who has shattered security in the Pacific? Have Chinese armed forces invaded Hawaii of the United States or have United States armed forces invaded Taiwan of China? As everyone knows, there are no Chinese forces between Hawaii and the United States mainland. It is precisely because the United States committed aggression simultaneously against Taiwan that the Korean war has been vastly extended. It is precisely because the United States armed forces traversed 5,000 miles of ocean to commit aggression against Korea and Taiwan that security in the Pacific has been shattered. It is the United States' armed aggression launched under the pretext of "maintaining security in the Pacific" that has shattered the security of the Pacific.

All the deceptions and lies that have been repeated too many times by Messrs. Truman, Acheson, Austin and the like, to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a "temporary measure" arising from the Korean war, aimed at "localizing" the Korean war, and "maintaining security in the Pacific" etc.—all such deceptions and lies are overweighed by a few voluntary confessions of General MacArthur. In his message to the veterans of foreign wars of the United States on August 28, General MacAuthur flagrantly admitted that the United States regarded Taiwan as "the center" of the United States Pacific front, "an unsinkable aircraft carrier," and that the United States must control Taiwan in order to be able to "dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore." From this it can readily be seen that the United States armed aggression against Taiwan is definitely not any "temporary measure" arising out of the Korean war, but rather a premeditated plan that had been decided upon long before the civil war in Korea was created. This United States armed aggression was directed towards vastly extending and not towards "localizing" the Korean war, towards seeking "to dominate every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore," and not towards doing any such thing as "maintaining the security of the Pacific." This United States aggression has outrageously shattered the security in the Pacific.

Further, the United States Government perversely argues that United States armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan was designed to effect the "military neutralization" of Taiwan. The United States Government attempted to use this hypocritical slogan as its "justification" for armed aggression against Taiwan in order to deceive the people all over the world, particularly the American people. But the people in the United States and throughout the whole world clearly understand that the liberation of Taiwan, which the Chinese people are determined to carry out, is entirely China's domestic affair, and that no deceptive slogans can conceal the fact that this action on the part of the United States Government constitutes armed intervention in China's domestic affairs.

Let the American people pause to consider: If a country dispatches its naval fleet between Hawaii and the United States mainland, divides up American territory and prevents the United States Government from exercising sovereignty there, while at the same time alleging that such action has been taken for the military neutralization of Hawaii so as to safeguard security in the Pacific —if a country does all these things, would the American people tolerate them?

Let the American people further pause to consider: At the time when President Lincoln was mopping up the remnant forces of the Southern slave owners, if a foreign power had suddenly stepped in, occupying the state of Virginia by armed forces, while alleging that this was designed for the military neutraliztion of Virginia so as to safeguard the security of the American continent—if such a foreign power did all these, would not the American people consider this a flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of the United States? Would not the American people consider this armed occupation of the territory of the United States?

The armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the United States Government is an act of aggression in that it is flagrant intervention in China's domestic affairs and armed occupation of Chinese territory. It is an open and wanton act of provocation against all the 475,000,000 Chinese people. The Chinese people cannot tolerate this unlawful and criminal act of direct, armed, aggressive war against China by the United States Government. Neither will the American people, in our belief, approve of such criminal provocation. This is because such action on the part of the United States Government is also detrimental to the interests of the American people. Can there be a single one of the peace-loving American people who is willing to serve as cannon fodder and to die just because his government has decided to invade Taiwan 5,000 miles away from America?

The outrageous action of the United States Government in committing unjustified armed aggression against Taiwan has roused the indignation of all righteous people in the world. No lies or deceit concerning the "future status" of Taiwan can dispel this indignation. As a result, the United States Government has been compelled to resort to even bigger lies in order to cover up its outrageous aggression. On July 19, the President of the United States in his message to Congress said:

"In order that there may be no doubt in any quarter about our intentions regarding Formosa, I wish to state that the United States has no territorial ambitions whatever concerning that island,

nor do we seek for ourselves any special position or privilege on Formosa."

Members of the Security Council: We Chinese are a people accustomed to "listening to words and observing deeds." The United States armed forces have invaded the territory of China, Taiwan. Yet the United States President asserted that the United States Government harbors no territorial ambitions concerning Taiwan. Shall we, then believe in the "words" of the United States Government? Or in its "deeds?" Here we have a situation where, having invaded another country's territory, the aggressor states he has no territorial ambitions on that territory. What then, is meant by "territorial ambitions?" Let him not make a mockery of the common sense of humanity. The supreme manifestation of territorial ambitions towards any particular state surely is the invasion of its territory. This action of the United States armed forces in invading Taiwan eloquently proves that the United States not only harbors territorial ambitions towards China's territory, Taiwan, but already is realizing them. The real intention of the United States is, as MacArthur has confessed—to convert Taiwan into the center of the United States Pacific front, for the purpose of dominating every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore.

In his letter of August 25, to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Austin, the United States delegate to the United Nations, stated: "The United States has not encroached on the territory of China, nor had the United States taken aggressive acts against China." Very well. Where then have the United States 7th Fleet and the 13th Air Force gone? Can it be that they have gone to the planet Mars? No. The United States 7th Fleet and 13th Air Force have not gone elsewhere. They are in Taiwan. Can it be that what is referred to as the 7th Fleet and 13th Air Force simply are not armed forces of the United States? No. The 7th Fleet and 13th Air Force are without doubt the 7th Fleet of the United States and the 13th Air Force of the United States. Then where is the point at issue? Can there be any aggressive act on earth more outrageous than that of invasion and occupation of another country's territory? It was only such fascist regimes as the German and the Japanese who did not admit that the invasion and occupation of China's Manchuria or the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia were acts of aggression.

Members of the Security Council, we cannot tolerate this kind of trickery by the United States Government. We all live in a real world. And we are living after the victory of the anti-fascist war. No amount of sophistry, lies and fabrication can alter the iron-clad fact that the United States armed forces have committed aggression on the territory of China, Taiwan.

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MEMBERS of the Security Council, the armed aggression of the United States Government on our territory, Taiwan, is not accidental. It is the inevitable consequence of the United States Government's policy to invade China, to interfere in our internal affairs, and to seek exclusive domination over China—United States' long-term imperialist policy.

In the entire history of China's foreign relations, notwithstanding the fact that the peoples of the United States and China have always maintained friendly relations, the American imperialists have always, in their relations with China, been the cunning aggressor. The American imperialists have never been the friends of the Chinese people. They have always aligned themselves with the enemies of the Chinese people. They have always been the enemies of the Chinese people. However shamelessly the American imperialists claim to be friends of the Chinese people, the historical record which distinguishes friend from foe cannot be altered.

Before the Second World War, because of the head start gained by other imperialists in China, the American imperialists adopted what was known as the "Open Door" and "Equal Opportunity" policy, which though ostensibly different from the policies of the other imperialist powers, was in fact an aggressive policy aimed at sharing the spoils with other imperialists.

After the Second World War, mainly because of the efforts and sacrifices of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the power of Japanese imperialism in China was smashed, and that of the other imperialists in China weakened. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the United States Government stepped up the execution of its policy of sole dominance over China. But the difficulties in realizing this policy were formidable, for those who favored this policy were only the Kuomintang reactionary clique, while the entire Chinese people opposed it. Therefore, in order to carry out their policy, it was necessary for the American imperialists to support the Kuomintang reactionary clique and to oppose the Chinese people with all their power.

After the surrender of imperialist Japan in 1945, the United States Government immediately adopted a policy of open intervention in China's internal affairs, using every means to smooth the way for the Kuomintang reactionary clique to launch a bloody civil war and to slaughter the Chinese people. The United States Government mobilized 113,000 men of its naval, ground and air forces to make landings in the major ports of China, grab important strategic points from which the Kuomintang reactionary clique could launch the civil war, and assist the Kuomintang reactionary clique by transporting one million troops to the fronts on which the civil war was to be launched.

Moreover, the United States Government equipped, at one time or another, 166 divisions of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary army as the main force for the invasion of the Chinese people's liberated areas; it helped Chiang to equip nine squadrons consisting of 1,720 aircraft, supplied the Chiang navy with 757 vessels, gave material and financial aid to Chiang to the amount of over 6,000,000,000 US dollars—although the United States Government admits only one-third of this figure. It is only because of the large-scale aid it received from the United States Government that the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique dared and was able to carry out a civil war against the people unprecedented in China's history for its scale and cruelty and to slaughter with United States arms several millions of the Chinese people.

During Chiang Kai-shek's bloody civil war against the Chinese people, apart from the United States Government's sending over 1,000 military advisers to Chiang Kai-shek to plan the civil war, United States troops stationed in China also participated directly in the civil war, and invaded the Chinese people's liberated areas more than 40 times. During this period, the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique signed all kinds of unequal treaties and agreements which reduced China to the status of a colony and military base of of the United States. These included such military agreements as the "Aviation Agreement" and "Naval Agreement," and such economic treaties and agreements as the "Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation," the "Bilateral Agreement between China and the United States," and the "Sino-American Agricultural Agreement." Furthermore, on the basis of these treaties and agreements, the United States Government secured in Kuomintang China many naval and air bases, and gained control of the military, political, financial and economic branches of the Kuomintang government. American goods flooded China's markets, causing China's national industries to fall into bankruptcy. The monopoly capitalists of the United States, through the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen, controlled the lifestream of China's economy. In fact, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary regime was nothing more than a puppet whereby American imperialism controlled China.

The Chinese people are completely justified in entering all the tyrannical crimes of Chiang Kai-shek on the account of the American imperialists. The Chinese people will never forget their blood debt against the American imperialists. American imperialism controlled China.

The Chinese people are completely justified in entering all the tyrannical crimes of Chiang Kai-shek on the account of the American imperialists. The Chinese people will never forget their blood debt against the American imperialists. American imperialism decidedly cannot escape the grave responsibility which they must bear for all the crimes committed by the Chiang Kai-shek brigands against the Chinese people. The hands of the American imperialists are stained with the blood of the Chinese people. The Chinese people have every right to indict the United States Government for the bloody crimes of slaughtering the Chinese people and enslaving the Chinese nation through its puppet Chiang Kai-shek.

However, all the efforts of the United States Government failed. A relatively complete record of this failure can be found in the White Paper entitled "United States Relations with China," compiled by the State Department of the United States. But the United States Government, still reductant to admit that this is its final defeat, has converged for the time being all its activities of aggression against China to Taiwan Island, the lair

of the Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique in its last desperate struggle.

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SHORTLY after the Japanese surrender, the United States armed forces had already started making various preparations for aggression against Taiwan under the pretext of assisting the Kuomintang regime in "accepting surrender" and "repatriating war prisoners." What the United States did in Taiwan through the Kuomintang regime, just as what it did in Japan, was first of all to keep intact all Japanese fascist forces and military installations. During the second half of 1947, under the direction of the United States Government, Hasgawa Kiyoshi, former Japanese governor of Taiwan, Yoshisuke Aikawa, former president of the Japanese Manchuria Industrial Development Corporation, who was released by order of MacArthur from Lugamo Prison, as well as other notorious war criminals of the aggressive war against China, were sent to Taiwan under United States protection. They were sent their to participate in planning the construction of military bases in Taiwan and, under United States instruction, to help train Chiang Kai-shek's troops to slaughter Chinese people.

During this period, the United States successively established air bases, liaison radio stations and other installations in Taipei, Sungsan, Taichung, Tainan and Hsinchu airfields. Military aircraft of the United States 13th Air Force in the Pacific were sent out to photograph the topography of the whole of Taiwan Island and to make meteorological surveys. Furthermore, United States military aircraft were constantly stationed in the various airfields in Taiwan. Hsinchu airfield, originally the largest air base in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation, became, after the Japanese surrender, the base of the United States aggression forces—the 13th Air Force.

Meanwhile, the United States gradually converted the ports of Keelung and Kaohsiung in Taiwan into its own naval bases. In the spring of 1948, Admiral Charles M. Cooke Jr. arrived in Taiwan with the United States West Pacific Fleet under his command, and compelled the Kuomintang regime—which had intended to cover up the fact that it had sold China's seaports—to declare officially that Keelung as well as Tsingtao was a port open to the United States navy. From that time onward, vessels of the United States navy have continually violated the territorial waters of our country around Taiwan and have been stationed in the various ports of Taiwan. In the port of Kaohsiung alone, at one time there were stationed as many as 27 United States naval vessels.

In regard to land forces, the United States "Joint Military Advisory Group" long ago sent a large staff of officers in active service to be stationed permanently on Taiwan. In accordance with the joint war plans of the United States and Chiang Kai-shek, this military staff is responsible for organizing, equipping and training the so-called "new army" of the Kuomintang to be used to attack the Chinese people. Thus, the United States has in reality taken over the military role of Japan, put Taiwan under its control and converted it into a military base of the United States.

Economically, the United States Government and American monopolies such as Westinghouse Electric Company, Reynolds' Metal Company, American Express Company and others, have through various devices, jointly dominated Taiwan's main industries—electric power, aluminum, cement, fertilizer, and others—controlled the economic life of Taiwan, and actually reduced it to a colony of the United States. Under such conditions, it is natural that the United States will not lightly give up Taiwan. Consequently, in order to realize its aim to dominate Taiwan, the United States Government has long been engaged in a variety of vicious political conspiracies. The instigation by the United States of the "Taiwan separation movement" reached such a height of brazenness that an American Government official in Taiwan openly declared that, if the people in Taiwan wanted to relieve themselves of China's rule, the United States was ready to help them.

The Chinese people of Taiwan have witnessed with their own eyes all these conspiracies of the United States Government in league with the Kuomintang reactionary remnants. Hence in the last five years, they have repeatedly launched great national liberation movements directed against the United States Government and its puppets. The glorious uprising of the Chinese people of Taiwan on February 27, 1947, declared to the whole world that just as they had not accepted the rule of Japanese imperialism so they would never accept the rule of the United States imperialism. The people of Taiwan fervently demand their return to the fold of their already liberated motherland and are right at this moment engaged in hard and heroic struggles for the liberation of Taiwan.

In 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army completed the liberation of the mainland of China. The vestiges of Chiang Kai-shek's gang fled to Taiwan to use it as a lair for their last desperate struggle. In spite of the United States President Truman's hypocritical statement on January 5, this year, of "non-intervention in the Taiwan situation," the United States Government in fact intensified and stepped up its support for the Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique herded together in Taiwan. The United States Government continues, through the Kuomintang remnant clique, to try to prevent the People's Republic of China from liberating Taiwan, so that Taiwan may remain under the actual domination of the United States.

But why does not the United States Government continue this course of action—this relatively covert form of aggression through the Chiang Kai-shek puppet regime—but must instead adopt the form of open and direct armed aggression to attain its objective of controlling Taiwan? There is only one reason—the growing might of the Chinese people and the imminent collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant regime have made it impossible for any indirect form of aggression to ensure the attainment of the United States objective. Thus we can see that the United States act of open-armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, is the inevitable outcome of the development of the United States' longterm imperialist policy of aggression against China. The act of armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, by the United States Government serves only to prove once again to the Chinese people that United States imperialism regards with hostility all victories of the Chinese people; United States imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

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MEMBERS of the Security Council, I must further point out that the armed aggression of the United States Government against the Chinese territory, Taiwan, is not an isolated affair. It is an integral part of the over-all plan of the United States Government to intensify its aggression, control and enslavement of the Asian countries and peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Japan, etc. It is a further step in the development of interference by American imperialism in the affairs of Asia.

During the five years after the war, General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Forces in the Far East, has adopted a series of unlawful measures, abusing the power granted to him as Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Japan, and completely violating the Potsdam Declaration, jointly signed by China, the United States, Great Britain, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the "basic post surrender policy toward Japan" of the Far Eastern Commission. MacArthur arbitrarily sets free the Japanese war criminals, whom the people all over Asia bitterly hate. He revives the power of Japanese fascism, suppresses the movement of the Japanese people for independence and liberation, and refuses to bring about an early over-all peace treaty with Japan. He attempts to gain sole domination over Japan, to enslave the Japanese nation, and to reduce Japan to a United States colony as well as a United States base for a new aggressive war.

This policy of the United States Government toward Japan damages not only the interests of the Japanese people, but also the common interests of the Chinese people, the Korean people and the other peoples of Asia. The Chinese people cannot but strongly protest and resolutely oppose this reactionary policy of the United States Government. Since the Chinese people won their victory on the Chinese mainland, the United States Government has still more frantically carried out a policy of rearming Japan to oppose the Chinese people and the other Asian peoples. At present, the United States Government has not only turned Japan into its main base in the Far East in preparation for aggressive war but it has already begun to use this base as a means to launch aggressive wars against a series of Asian countries. The headquarters of the United States Government for its aggression against Korea and Taiwan is in Japan.

Under the pretext of the Korean civil war, which was of its own making, the United States Government launched armed aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan. From the very outset, the United States armed aggression against Korea gravely threatened China's security. Members of the Security Council, Korea is about 5,000 miles away from the boundaries of

the United States. To say that the civil war in Korea would affect the security of the United States is a flagrant deceitful absurdity. But there is only a narrow river between Korea and China. The United States armed aggression in Korea inevitably threatens China's security. That the United States aggression forces in Korea have directly threatened China's security, is fully borne out by the facts.

From August 27, to November 10, 1950, the military aircraft of the United States aggression forces in Korea have, for 90 times, violated the territorial air of Northeast China, conducted reconnaissance activities, strafed and bombed Chinese cities, towns and villages, killed and wounded Chinese peaceful inhabitants, and damaged Chinese properties. The details are set out in a separate list. (See December Review, p. 141). In addition, from November 10 to 14, 28 times, from November 15 to 19, 33 times. Naval craft of the United States aggression forces against Korea opened fire on and forcibly inspected Chinese merchant shipping on the high seas on September 20.

All these acts of direct aggression against China by the United States aggression forces in Korea are an insolent challenge which the Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly lodged accusations with the United Nations, demanding that it immediately take measures to stop such outrageous acts of the United States Government, and to bring about the withdrawal of the United States aggression forces in Korea, so that the issue may not assume more serious proportions. Although because of the resolute support of the delegate of the USSR our charge was placed on the agenda of the Security Council on August 31, nevertheless, owing to the manipulation and obstruction of the United States Government, the Security Council has up to now refused to admit the representative of China to state the case and participate in the discussion of this item. And now, the United States forces of aggression in Korea are approaching our Northeast frontiers. The flames of the war of aggression waged by the United States against Korea are swiftly sweeping toward China.

Under such circumstances, the United States armed aggression against Korea cannot be regarded as a matter which concerns the Korean people alone. No, decidedly not. Members of the Security Council, the United States aggression against Korea gravely endangers the security of the People's Republic of China. The Korean People's Democratic Republic is a country bound by close ties of friendship to the People's Republic of China. Only a river separates the two countries geographically. The Chinese people cannot afford to stand idly by in the face of this serious situation brought about by the United States Government's aggression against Korea and the dangerous tendency towards the extension of war.

The Chinese people have witnessed with their own eyes Taiwan fall prey to aggression, and the flames of the United States war of aggression against Korea leap towards them. Thus stirred into righteous anger, they are volunteering in great numbers to go to the aid of the Korean people. Resistance to United States aggression is based on self-evident principles of justice and reason. The Chinese People's Government sees no reason whatever to prevent their voluntary departure for Korea to participate, under the command of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, in the great liberation struggle of the Korean people against United States aggression.

The United States armed aggression against Taiwan is inseparable from its interference in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nam Republic, its support of the French aggressors and their Bao Dai puppet regime, and its armed attack on the Viet-Nam people.

The people of the entire world know that France is the aggressor against Viet-Nam and that the Bao Dai regime is a typical puppet regime which cannot possibly win any confidence and support from the Viet-Nam people. In supporting this aggressor and this puppet regime against the people of Viet-Nam, the United States Government aims not only at aggression against Viet-Nam but also at threatening the borders of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people cannot but be deeply concerned with the unfolding of the aggressive plot of the United States Government against Viet-Nam.

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MEMBERS of the Security Council, in making Japan its main war base in the East, launching armed aggression against Korea and Taiwan, carrying out active intervention against Viet-Nam and tightening its control over other countries in Asia, the United States Government is systematically building up a military encirclement of the People's Republic of China, in preparation for further attack on the People's Republic of China, and to stir up a third world war.

The truth of the matter is not difficult to understand: After the Second World War, the United States imperialist policy on the Chinese mainland has met with miserable failure. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution points out to the oppressed peoples and nations throughout Asia the way of driving imperialism out of Asia and achieving national independence. It shows them with living facts that it is possible to defeat American imperialism, and that without imperialist oppression the Asian peoples not only can survive, but will live a much better life. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution has inspired and encouraged the oppressed peoples throughout Asia in their struggle of liberation for national independence.

But American imperialism cannot resign itself to the shattering of its dream of exclusive domination over Asia, nor can it acquiesce to its withdrawal from Asia. Hence American imperialism regards victorious people's China as the most serious obstacle to its sole domination over Asia.

American imperialism is hostile to all liberation struggles of Asian peoples, and is particularly hostile to the great victory of the Chinese people. It has therefore resorted to the form of open and direct armed aggression to realize its fanatic design of attacking New China and dominating the whole of Asia.

The American imperialists claim that the United States "defense line" must be pushed to the Yalu River, to the Straits of Taiwan and to the mountainous border regions between China and Viet-Nam, or else the United States would have no security. This is the reason why they claim the United States has conducted armed aggression against Korea and Taiwan and intensified its intervention in Viet-Nam. But in no sense whatever can it be said that the Korean people's struggle for liberation, or the exercise of sovereignty by the People's Republic of China over its own territory, Taiwan, or the volunteering of the Chinese people to resist the United States and aid Korea, or the struggle for national independence of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic against French imperialism and its puppets, affect the security of the United States of North America 5,000 miles away.

The Chinese people, familiar with sufferings, know fully well that the United States Government has taken this series of aggressive acts with the purpose of realizing its fanatical design of dominating Asia and the world. One of the master planners of Japanese aggression, Tanaka, once said: To conquer the world, one must first conquer Asia; to conquer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China, one must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. To conquer Manchuria and Mongolia, one must first conquer Korea and Taiwan. Ever since 1895, the course of aggression taken by imperialist Japan has exactly corresponded to the Tanaka plan. In 1895, imperialist Japan invaded Korea and Taiwan. In 1931, imperialist Japan occupied the whole of Northeast China. In 1937, imperialist Japan launched the war of aggression against the whole of China. In 1941, it started the war aimed at the conquest of all Asia. Naturally, as everyone knows, before it had realized this design, Japanese imperialism collapsed.

American imperialism by its aggression against Taiwan and Korea, in practice plagiarizes Tanaka's memorandum, and follows the beaten path of the Japanese imperialist aggressors. The Chinese people are maintaining a sharp vigilance over the progress of American imperialist aggression. They have already acquired the experience and learned the lesson from history as to how to defend themselves from invasion.

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MEMBERS of the Security Council, American imperialism has taken the place of Japanese imperialism. It is now following the old track of aggression against China and Asia on which Japanese imperialism set forth in 1894-1895, only hoping to proceed with greater speed. But, after all, 1950 is not 1895; the times have changed, and so have the circumstances. The Chinese people have arisen. The Chinese people who victoriously overthrew the rule on China's mainland of Japanese imperialism and of American imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek, will

certainly succeed in driving out the United States aggressors and recover Taiwan and all other territories that belong to China.

In the course of 55 years, as a result of the victories of the Soviet Union's great October Revolution, of the anti-fascist Second World War, and of the great revolution of the Chinese people, all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East have awakened and organized themselves. Regardless of the savagery and cruelty of the American imperialist aggressors, the hard struggling people of Japan, the victoriously advancing people of Viet-Nam, the heroically resisting people of Korea, the people of the Philippines who have never laid down their arms, and all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East will certainly unite in close solidarity. Yielding neither to the enticements nor to the threats of American imperialism, they will fight dauntlessly on to win the final victory in their struggle for national independence.

The armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and the extension of the aggressive war in Korea by the United States Government has multiplied a thousand fold the Chinese people's hatred and indignation against American imperialism. Since June 27, the thousands upon thousands of protests against this base act of aggression committed by the United States Government—raised by the various political parties, people's organizations, national minorities, overseas Chinese, workers, peasants, intellectuals, industrialists and businessmen throughout China—have demonstrated the irrepressible wrath of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people love peace. But if the United States aggressors should take this as an indication of the weakness of the Chinese people, they would be making a grave mistake. The Chinese people never have been, and never will be afraid to wage a war of resistance against aggression. Regardless of any military measures of obstruction by the United States Government, and no matter how it may arrogate for its purpose the name of the United Nations, the Chinese people are firmly determined to recover Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China from the grip of the United States aggressors. This is the irrevocable and immovable will of the 475,000,000 people of China. The United States must bear the full responsibility for all consequences that may arise from its invasion and occupation of Taiwan.

To safeguard international peace and security, and to uphold the sanctity of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Security Council has the inalienable duty to apply sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression on the territory of China, Taiwan, and intervention in Korea. I, therefore, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, propose to the United Nations Security Council:

1) That the United Nations Security Council openly condemn, and take concrete steps to apply severe sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and armed intervention in Korea;

2) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to secure the complete withdrawal by the United States Government of its forces of armed aggression from Taiwan in order that peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia may be ensured;

3) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to secure the withdrawal from Korea of the armed forces of the United States and all other countries and to leave the people of North and South Korea to settle the domestic affairs of Korea themselves, so that a peaceful solution of the Korean question may be achieved.

Finally, I wish to state that the President of the Security Council, taking advantage of the situation that the representative of the People's Republic of China has just arrived at Lake Success and has not yet had time to get familiar with conditions here and also taking advantage of the fact that People's China is not yet a member of the United Nations has arranged, in cohort with the representative of the United States of America, the unreasonable order of speaking. I, therefore, emphatically protest against such action which deprived the representative of the People's Republic of China of the right to speak first.

Documents and Speeches

Copies of the* China Weekly Review *containing translations of the following documents and speeches are still available for those readers who wish to keep a complete file of important speeches and statements of the new China's leaders, as well as of all major laws and regulations put into effect during the past year:

	in China (including postage)	*abroad (including postage)*
Full Text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Republic	JMP6,000	US$0.30
Full Text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council	JMP6,000	US$0.30
Liu Shao-chi's Speech on Sino-Soviet Friendship	JMP6,000	US$0.30
List of Officials of the Central People's Government	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Full Text of Li Li-san's Speech on China's Trade Union Movement	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Text of Treaty and Agreements between China and the Soviet Union	JMP4,000	US$0.20
China's Finances and Food—an Official Report by Chen Yun ...	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Full Text of Liu Shao-chi's Labor Day Speech...	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Tung Pi-wu's Statement on Relief and Welfare Work	JMP4,000	US$0.20
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China's Trade Union Law and Comment by Li Li-san... ...	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Jao Shu-shih's Report on Land Reform in East China—Tseng Shan's Report on Financial and Economic Work in East China	JMP6,500	US$0.30
Documents Pertaining to China's Foreign Relations from Oct. 1, 1949 to Sept. 1950	JMP6,500	US$0.30
Reports on State of the Nation by Chou En-lai and Chen Yun ...	JMP6,500	US$0.30
Reports to the Shanghai People's Conference, Oct. 1950	JMP6,500	US$0.30